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No. 2341

1981 ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ISRAEL



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LIKUD ELECTIONS ADVERTISEMENT COUNTERS ALIGNMENT

TA221221 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 May 81 p 12

[Likud election campaign advertisement with pictures of Alignment leaders in uncomplimentary poses; covering a full page]

[Text] The Likud is Grateful to the Alignment

Please carry on publishing the advertisements "One Against the Other." We would like this.

This time the nation must choose between Menahem Begin or... [picture of Shim'on Peres] Shim'on Peres, who changes his mind twice a week.

David Levi or... [blank picture and a question mark] Rafi Adari. Who has ever heard of him at all?

Yitzhaq Shamir or... [picture of Aba Eban] Aba Eban of the government of the blunder. [Referring to the Yom Kippur War]

Yoram Aridor... [picture of Ben-Shahar] "Cuts" Ben-Shahar.

The Alignment is asking you to again believe in the same people who led to the blunder.

This time you must choose.

The Likud.

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BACKGROUND OF HERUT PARTY ANALYZED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 3 Mar 81 p 14

[Article by Meir Bareli: "Anatomy of a Party--Herut: One Slogan Winning Against Another"]

[Text] The word "Herut" was at first the name of a newspaper or, more precisely, a poster which the Irgun pasted on walls in our cities, in competing with the "Hahomah" of the Haganah. The Stern group called its poster "Ma'as" (the deed) in memory of their newspaper in Poland, "De Tote," edited by N. Friedman Yelin (in Israel--Yellin-More).

When Menahem Begin stepped down as the Irgun commander and entered public life, he did not want to hear about the Revisionist Party, against which he and his friends have many grievances. He decided to establish the new party and name it after his poster newspaper. He wanted to emphasize that his party was a party of freedom (Herut means freedom) for a nation which has overthrown foreign domination (the British), and freedom for the Jews of Israel from the yoke of Histadrut and its socialistic legislation, as well as a hint that the new party is not related to the Revisionist tradition which had an element of worship (at least appreciation) for fascism, which manifested itself in many ways. The intention of Begin and his people to disassociate themselves from their Revisionist past stems from the belief that they would be able to attract many more voters who have been accustomed to oppose Jabotinsky and Revisionism.

The old party, the Revisionist Zionists, remained without a halo and had nothing to say to the voter. It took advantage of Begin's disassociation from Revisionist terms and the playing down of Jabotinsky's name, and it came out with many patently Jabotinskian slogans, including the argument that anyone who leaves Jabotinsky's party betrays his teachings. This argument appeared on a poster bearing Jabotinsky's picture. Begin and associates understood that until they could attract votes which reject Jabotinsky's terminology and ideology they may lose the sure votes of the Revisionists in favor of A. Altman, A. Shostak, A. Remba and their friends from the Revisionist Zionists. They pasted on all the poster boards in Israel a large poster with Jabotinsky's picture with their own slogan.

In order to disassociate themselves from their Revisionist past, Begin and his people did not ask for the letter "G" which was the traditional election letter of the Revisionist Zionists and preferred the letter "H" (the first letter of the new party, Herut). The Revisionists Zionists would have gotten that letter anyway,

which "belonged" to them. Only after they finally failed, and were not able to join the Knesset, this letter went to Agudat Yisrael, which did not have its own letter during the British mandate, since it did not join any elections in the Jewish community at that time.

The collapse of the Revisionist Zionists and the process of their members joining the Herut one by one was narrated in this series in the article about A. Shostak's party. One should add one detail which is more interesting than important. When the old timers of the Revisionist Zionists yielded to Begin's demands and agreed to fill out forms to join his party, and transferred all the assets of the party to him (including "Vladimir's Castle," which changed its name to "Jabotinsky's House"), they made one request--to keep the name Beytar. When Herut was established it organized a youth movement--the Sons of the Irgun. The old timers asked to preserve the name Beytar which was so dear to Vladimir Jabotinsky. Begin agreed. In his heart the name Beytar struck a nostalgic chord--he was the head of Beytar in Poland.

Menahem Begin's leadership became strongly established in his movement, and withstood all tests. When, in the elections to the Second Knesset, Herut lost nearly half of its mandates (in comparison to the not so large representation in the first Knesset), Begin offered to resign, but no one was willing to second it. Anyone who opposed Begin left. Some left the party and some remained but became inactive. Thus Begin began leading his movement on the bumpy road of the opposition, and seemed to have no chance of ever gaining power.

Under these conditions, Begin had to struggle with groups and leaders in his own party who looked for nondemocratic ways to seize power. Begin fought against any idea of underground action. In a discussion in the Herut convention, in the late 1950's, he had a strong debate with Aba Ahimeir who spoke derisively about the voting card which Begin in his naivete hoped to use to reach power. Ahimeir added that even if Herut got enough votes, the president would not invite Begin to form a government. Ahimeir went on to refer to the president, Yitzhak Ben Tzvi in uncomplimentary terms. It was a difficult situation for Begin. His followers saw in him a leader, but many (perhaps most) saw Aba Ahimeir as an ideologist and a man crowned by the halo of the freedom fighters, the founder of the "hoodlums covenant." In the same discussion Ahimeir warned Begin of the danger that Ben-Gurion may liberate the Temple Mount which will then be credited to the "left." Begin replied in a speech which referred to Ahimeir with respect but was in effect a discourse in defense of democracy and its importance, and Begin's unshakeable faith in the democratic system which gives a chance even to the minority, although its chances may seem small. He categorically rejected the argument that even if he got a majority he would not become prime minister. The committee accepted Begin's position. Ten years went by during which the movement became increasingly frustrated. It now called itself "the national movement," and Begin started looking for a new way. After the elections to the Fifth Knesset (which gave Herut a moderate increase in mandates) he was able to enter into dialogue with the leader of the Liberal Party, Yosef Sapir, and they established GAHAL--the Herut-Liberals bloc. GAHAL was not successful in the elections to the Sixth Knesset, and its representation was smaller than the combination of the two parties which formed it. This did not discourage the partners. They continued to work together in the Seventh Knesset, and in preparing for the

elections for the Eighth Knesset they added new partners and changed the name to "Likud." The elections to the Ninth Knesset brought the results which Ahimeir did not believe were possible. He was no longer alive, but if he were, Begin would surely have said to him: "Aha! I told you so!"

The ideological struggle between the Labor movement and the organized community on the one hand, and the separatist underground organizations on the other, are outside the scope of this series of articles. Yet we feel constrained to say a few words about it. There is no need to talk about the ideology of "breaking the Histadrut," when the "white and blue" fought for its position in the Histadrut along with the Herut partners in the Likud. The settlement of the land, which the Revisionists despised, need not be justified--history has done it. Suffice it to mention that the debate on the struggle for the establishment of the state was not as the Irgun tried to describe it--those for armed struggles and those against it. Debate was between armed struggle under the political leadership according to national needs, and armed struggle which is unbridled and lacking in direction. One should also mention the "Season"--the aggressive action of the Haganah to stop Irgun activities--during World War II. It was clear to the leaders of the Jewish community that if it did not stop the acts of terror against the British Army while world war went on, the situation of the Jewish community would be insufferable after the war, and no one would be able to argue that this was done by a desperate minority which had its own reasons. When the Stern group promised Eliyanu Golomb that they would stop their actions (they explain that in any case they were not able to act at that time), nothing was done against them. The "Season" was a serious action without precedents and it was no wonder that many leaders refused to be associated with it. Men of the stature of the Jewish Agency Executive Chairman David Ben-Gurion, and the uncrowned commander of the Haganah, Eliyanu Golomb, were needed in order to take such responsibility and carry out such necessary acts. Begin's great merit was that he showed restraint and refused to aggravate the situation further. If the Haganah had to fight active resistance on the part of the Irgun, the situation would have worsened immeasurably. This restraint was Begin's greatest contribution to the establishment of the state.

The need to mention these matters is linked to an interesting fact, namely, there were always differences of opinion between Jabotinsky and his disciples on one hand, and the rest of the Zionist movement and the Jewish community on the other, not only on one specific issue. There were also differences of opinion on the question, what is the debate about? In no Zionist movement was there a rift over the question of maximalists and minimalists, activists and anti-activists, pro-armed struggle and anti-armed struggle. Those were indeed important questions, but the decision was not necessarily pragmatic and one should not size up these movements according to today's terms which must be decided according to today's circumstances. Everything depended on changing circumstances. This was proven when Begin assumed power.

Whether or not we agree with Begin's peace treaty with Anwar Sadat and what preceded it or whether we strongly criticize it--one thing is clear, namely, that it is a policy that departs from what Begin had preached for, and what Ahimeir taught, and what was publicly known as Jabotinsky's way.

Begin can say 100 times that the Sinai is not Israel, but he cannot change the fact that those who voted for him never dreamed that he would vote for returning the Sinai to Egypt, including Yamit and Ofira, and even including, what is most important to the students of Jabotinsky's militarism--the large air bases in the Sinai. Indeed in the Likud propaganda for the elections in 1977, on television, it was said several times--we were surprised in the Yom Kippur War, but the war did not reach your home, you the citizen, because you had borders far away from your home (paraphrase). In the Camp David Accords Begin agreed to recognize "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." Nobody objected. Not to their rights, not to their legitimacy (rights regarding Israel, of course!), not that there was such a people. The only thing that disturbed him was that they were called "Palestinians." To him they were "Israel's Arabs." Carter listened to him and thought to himself, "big deal."

Even in this change of course Begin swept most of his supporters, the entire "national movement" as they called themselves. This makes one think. The most famous Beytar slogan was: "The Jordan has 2 banks--this one is ours and so is the other!" Or more extremely: "May my right hand wither if I forget east of the Jordan," yet "East of the Jordan," or "Trans-Jordan in our prosaic language, has long been forgotten, while the right hand is making superhuman efforts to retain power. Perhaps another Beytar slogan which was less famous, was more important, for it won within the party: "God chose us to rule."

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INTERNAL RIVALRIES SEEN DEVELOPING IN HERUT

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 8 Apr 81 p 7

[Article by Daniel Blokh: "Internal Tension in Herut"]

[Text] In recent weeks the Likud and the Herut movement have been able to show a united front outwardly by sweeping internal squabbles under the carpet. The appearance of a new minister of finance, Yoram Aridor, and the confusion in the Alignment camp gave the Likud leaders some self-confidence. But not for long. The lists for the elections have to be drawn up soon, to determine the hierarchy and to initiate the first move in the "battle for the succession." Among the Herut movement's old timers there is concern about Aridor's quick ascent, and they are waiting for the outcome of the Histadrut elections to determine the status of David Levi. At the same time the position of Yitzhaq Shamir has somewhat weakened, in light of Ya'akov Meridor's return to the political arena. Until recently Yitzhaq Shamir was considered "the number two man" in Herut, and now he was quickly demoted to third place. It is known that Shamir is angry with Menahem Begin, for not having been included sooner in the secret process of Meridor's return.

Meanwhile, the factions of Herut are getting ready for the struggle over forming the lists for the Knesset. The order of candidater will be a test for the ratio of internal forces and the evaluation of the possible imminent retirement of Begin in the middle of the next term. One should not forget that in addition to the forces at work--Meridor, Shamir, Levi and Aridor--Ezer Weizman may return to the arena after Begin's retirement. Weizman believes that after Begin leaves the Likud will understand that its only chance to win is with Ezer Weizman as its head. Begin himself, who wants to prevent, as long as he has influence, Weizman's return, is even willing to include Shmuel Tamir in the Likud, even in the Herut movement.

The "Junkyard" Is Following the TELEM Leader

Moshe Dayan was not able to cause surprise in the last BAMA meeting. His appearance in the elections to the Knesset was expected and there were no unusual innovations in his list of candidates. All the definitions--"DASH for the poor," "junkyard" and "old rags" are fitting for this party, which offers no innovation or new message. Most of its members are known either as foolish followers of Dayan who have accepted all of his whims, or those who have offered their services to other parties, including DASH of blessed memory.

Many important personalities to whom Dayan turned refused him: Yosef Tabenkin, Buma Shavit, the mayors of the development towns, including Meir Shitrit, the chairman of the local council of Yavneh, and various leaders of the Labor Party, with Yigal Hurvitz and RAFAI the "match" did not work out. For all indications, Dayan did not want Hurvitz, and the reason is simple: Hurvitz is a man of principles. Because of principles he quit the government twice. Dayan does not need people with principles. On the contrary--only those who lack principles; only those who are willing to change their mind according to the changing mood of the leader, only those can join TELEM.

Yigal Hurvitz will now learn a hard lesson: he quit the government, hoping to join Dayan. Now he has lost everything--no Dayan and no Likud, which now is happy to be without the minister who "has plenty of nothing."

Etsioni as Censor

It seems that the former judge, Dr Moshe Etsioni, currently serving as chairman of the central elections committee, is interpreting strictly the strange instructions of the elections law regarding the propaganda methods. None of the committee elections chairmen in the past showed such active involvement in radio broadcast and television: Protests of broadcasts which have already been aired, or a restraint order against an article about the elections. The elections law regarding propaganda methods sets three principles on the use of radio and television during the elections: Total prohibition of showing candidates' pictures during the 30 days prior to the elections, prohibition of propaganda broadcasts during 150 days prior to the election, and propaganda broadcasts according to a time allotment for the various parties. Dr Etsioni interprets the prohibition on propaganda broadcasts not only in regard to direct propaganda but also to indirect, and thus, it seems, his ruling is rather strict. Almost any broadcast before the elections touching on a timely issue, can be interpreted as elections propaganda--if the prime minister stands next to Secretary of State Haig this too is elections broadcast. And so on ad infinitum.

There was no reason to forbid the broadcast of a program about the elections for the Histadrut and there was no reason to complain about broadcasts which dealt with Moshe Dayan's appearance in the Bamah meeting, in which he announced the composition of his list for the Knesset. Those were timely topics, the reporting of which is a service to the public. In the past, chairmen did not interpret this law so strictly. One should remember this is not the first time that elections to the Histadrut take place so close to the elections for the Knesset.

In any case, the legislator should reexamine the elections law regarding the propaganda methods, in order not to restrict the regular television broadcasts to such an extent, going beyond the acceptable standards in democratic countries.

Waiting for the Team

Tomorrow, or at the latest on Sunday, the Labor Party chairman, Shimon Peres, will announce his new team, which will occupy the main positions in the Alignment government. This date will obligate Professor Haim Ben Shazar to give the final answer, if he is willing to be the Alignment's candidate for minister of finance.

Many circles in the Labor Party hope that Professor Ben Shazar will answer negatively, but one should not discount the possibility of an affirmative answer, which will obligate Shimon Peres to decide on the question of the position and role for Naftali Blumenthal and Gad Ya'agovi. It is to be expected that Peres will give an unequivocal statement about the candidacy of Haim Bar Lev as minister of defense and Abba Eban as foreign minister. He will provide additional names, including some new and attractive, for other senior positions.

The uncertainty about the team did not add health to the Labor Party, and has increased confusion. Personal dealings will have to end soon, also in regard to composing a list for the Knesset, in order to gear up for the main campaign against the Likud and against forces which may split the Knesset and prevent the establishment of a stable government.

The Liberal International for Ida Nudel

The appeal of the president of the Independent Liberal Party, Moshe Qol, who is now serving as one of the vice chairmen of the Liberal International, elicited response from leaders of this International for Action to free prisoner of Zion Ida Nudel. Among those responding to the Moshe Qol's plea were German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, who promised to raise the question in his talk with the Soviet ambassador; Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who promised resolute action in the matter; the leader of the British Liberal Party, David Steele, who has turned it to the Soviet authorities in this matter; and the foreign minister of Luxembourg.

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NRP STRIVES TO MAINTAIN UNITY

Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 27 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Shaul Schiff: "NRP Hopes To Avoid Internal Struggle"]

[Text] Mr Rafael Ben-Natan, secretary general of Hapoel Hamizrabi, said in a private conversation this week, that if it should happen that all 12 candidates for the 10th Knesset will be decided democratically by the "young," "I will fight with all my might that this list wins the election, although deep down I sometimes disagree with them and I do not always agree with their views." Ben-Natan's eyes were filled with tears when he said it, and one could tell he meant it.

His words were a reaction to recent developments in the NRP, following the proposals which several NRP leaders made to Knesset member Rabbi Hayim Druckman in order to keep him in the NRP rather than start an independent party, without first consulting the rest of the party. There is an interest in the NRP to transcend sectarian interests and to maintain the unity of the national religious camp, which will necessitate sacrifices from all concerned in forming the list for the next Knesset.

All are now awaiting the return of Interior Minister Dr Yosef Burg from his party's mission to the United States. Burg, who, it is believed, was asked by the leaders of the party in the United States to maintain the unity of the party, will be made aware of the fact that the party is now facing one of its most difficult moments and that unity takes precedence over anything else.

The heads of the Alignment were "equipped" lately with polls which purport to prove that any cooperation with the NRP should be avoided at all cost. To this one may add the anti-religious attitude which has been growing in all parties, including the Likud. Thus, for instance, the Liberal faction in Likud defeated this week the bill about the marketing of pork, and the Law of Return amendment ("Who is a Jew.") Under such circumstances the NRP must maintain maximal inner unity in order to increase its representation in the Knesset, or at least to maintain its present strength.

Amonon Lin's "Reprisal"

Knesset Chairman Yitzhak Berman received a letter this week from Knesset member Amonon Lin (RAFI) requesting that the Knesset send a delegation to England and Ireland to check the prison condition of the Irish prisoners who "fight British

occupation in Northern Ireland." Lin also requests that the delegation meet with representatives of the Irish organizations which fight for Irish independence "in order to understand the character of the Irish liberation movement which is fighting the British occupation."

His letter, a copy of which was sent to Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, indicates that "for years we here in Israel have been interested in the nature of the Irish liberation movement. Now that Great Britain is turning to the PLO there is no reason for us not to learn more about the British treatment of the prisoners of this movement in British jails." Several members of Knesset have indicated interest in joining Amonon Lin's initiative because of the clear turn in British-PLO relations.

Why Did Arafat Blow His Stack?

Lately the widely circulated Italian newspaper CORRIERE DELLA SERA printed a front page story from Beirut about an incident in which terrorist leader Yasir Arafat had a harsh exchange of words with an Italian television crew. In the exchange Arafat revealed the close ties between the PLO and other terrorist organizations which threaten the free world.

According to the report, Arafat spent several hours in a friendly interview with a member of Italy's parliament. At the end of the meeting an Italian television correspondent asked Arafat: What is your opinion about the statements of repentant Italian terrorists that there is a link between the PLO, the Red Brigades, the Front Line organization, and Communist Fighters Units? The terrorist leader shouted, "Enough, cut, I confiscate the film." His attendants obeyed his order while Arafat left the room slamming the door. Before he got out he snapped, "I have no more answers, don't interview me, what have I got to do with terrorists." and added angrily, "Ask Moro's family what we did for them." This last statement revealed a secret which was well guarded until that moment, that Mrs Moro (former Italian) tried to use Arafat's ties with the Red Brigades to bring about her husband's release. Thus, Arafat revealed his secret about his ties with other terrorist organizations. It should be mentioned that the prosecution in the trial of members of the Red Brigades has many documents which point to a tie between them and Palestinian terrorist groups. The former have been trained in Beirut and South Yemen. Their weapons also originated in Palestinian terrorist organizations.

Anti-Semitic Activity in Germany on the Rise

Security forces in Germany have recorded a considerable increase in anti-Semitic acts in this country. Last year 42 Jewish cemeteries were desecrated. There were 44 violent incidents against Jews. In the report on violence in 1980, it states that in recent months the following serious incidents of tombstone defilement were recorded:

In Köln, 30 stones were smeared with swastikas and slogans "Adolf lives." In Aschenburg 152 stones were destroyed in August and 87 in November. In Frankfurt, stones were destroyed and smeared with swastikas, S.S. signs, and the words "Jews Die." Nazi slogans were written on synagogues and Jewish memorials. Additional incidents were recorded in Worms and Bad Wersfeld. In 20 cases extreme rightists were found to be responsible for the vandalism.

The Sun Blessing Ceremony

Agudat Yisrael office in Tel Aviv is completing preparations for the Sun Blessing Ceremony, which will take place on Wednesday, 8 April, on the roof of Migdal Shalom in Tel Aviv. An arrangement was made with the building management to hold the ceremony there in order to fulfill the injunction about the Sun Blessing: "If you can climb to a high place from where you can see the sun, it is a mitzvah to do so." The ceremony will start at 5 am with a morning prayer and will be attended by hasidic rabbis and heads of academies.

The sun circles the earth in two ways: a daily orbit from east to west, and an orbit around itself from west to east. Its position changes each day, and the second orbit takes 28 years to complete. Each 28 years when the sun reaches the starting point, Jewish law decreed to say a special blessing for this natural phenomenon. It says in the Talmud (Brakhot 59), "He who sees the sun in its season, when it comes back to its starting point, this is the time of the creation of the luminaries, and so he says 'Blessed be He who created the universe.' Abaye said, every 28 years."

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NRP SEEN STRUGGLING WITH INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 27 Mar 81 p 14

[Article by Amnon Barzilay: "NRP--Everyone Selling Everyone"]

[Text] A few days ago a harsh exchange took place between Minister Aharon Abu Hatzera and NRP Knesset chairman, Yehudah Ben Meir. "You have given up on me. You wait for me to leave. You have begun to divide among yourselves the bear's skin." Ben Meir, tried, of course, to persuade the minister who is enjoying a forced vacation, that all wish him well and hope he is proven innocent. But Abu Hatzera is not convinced. He knows his political partners of the last 4 years. Despite the calming words, the caresses and the back slapping, he feels cheated. Even if he is proven totally innocent, he has already lost one-third of his political power in the party. Of the three places which his faction ("Likud u'tmurah") in the realistic list, if it survives at all, it will only have two representatives in the Knesset.

This development is a by-product of the open struggle which has now become public for the place and position of Knesset member Rabbi Haim Druckman in the NRP. The internal war which Druckman declared on the leaders of the NRP has hastened a process which might have been prevented before the elections. In a near desperate effort to stop him from quitting the NRP, the party's young headed by Minister Zvulun Hammer and member of Knesset Ben Meir decided to go on an all out campaign. Thus, 3 months before the elections, despite Abu Hatzera's trial and the threat of a renewed investigation of the "Afarsak" affair, which lowered the NRP's prestige, a new front opened in the party between the young headed by Hammer and the "Lamifneh" faction headed by Minister Burg.

This struggle, which perhaps more than ever before threatens the integrity of the NRP, has become clearly ideological. A victory for Druckman and the young will strengthen the rightist-hawkish trend in the party and will make it harder to form a coalition with the Alignment if the latter assumes power.

Unlike former struggles for control of the party ("Oslo A," "Oslo B") which took place behind the scenes, this one is open; it is a contest over seats in the Knesset, and the share of the young faction headed by Rabbi Druckman in the 10th Knesset. The young have departed from the correct assumption that the true test of control over the NRP is control over the faction in the Knesset. Transferring the struggle over representation in the faction to the Knesset also stems from the firm hold which Rafael Ben Natan, secretary general of Hapoel Hamizrahi has in Kastel, in the party house, and in the party's institutions.

Hammer and Ben Meir resort to sophisticated methods to overcome this hurdle and broaden their own base. It can be assumed at this time that in the 10th Knesset the NRP will have 6 members who are close to the young. Since the NRP has no illusions about success in the coming elections (they expect losing two seats), this means decisive control for the young over the party. The yardstick for NRP's share in the government was one for every three members of Knesset. This means that with six members, the young and Druckman will have two ministers, just as Druckman has demanded--himself and Hammer.

Redividing Representation

The struggle in the NRP took place in recent months in two stages. The first one ended this week in an agreement between the young and Druckman, who entered into a political brotherly pact. As long as that struggle went on, the other factions lived in peace. One would not exaggerate in saying that the ministers Abu Hatzera and Burg, members of Knesset David Glass, Avraham Melamed, and central activists like Ben Natan and Rabbi Moshe Solomon, rubbed their hands in content. Minister Burg went on his routine trip to the United States in a cheerful mood.

No one was overly concerned about the prospect of Druckman quitting the NRP. No one believed that the faction of a rabbi of Merkaz Shapir "Eytanim" will cross the percentage barrier. Even the heads of the "Tehiya" movement tried to tell Druckman not to act in haste. (They were afraid he might steal their votes and prevent them from qualifying.) Moreover, the heads of "Lamifneh" and "Likud U'tumrah" in the NRP were prepared to lose some votes in order to get rid of him. They reasoned that he would have attracted people associated with the young faction. Druckman's withdrawal would have affected Hammer, Ben Meir, party secretary Dani Vermus, and the prestige of the party young and the members of the Ben Akiva youth movement.

Druckman was forced upon Abu Hatzera and Burg as part of the youth's slogan "to freshen" the party's list for the Knesset, and indirectly to prevent the defection of the Gush Emunim supporters to the Likud and to Ariel Sharon's Shlomtzion, as well as to Kahana's movement.

Rabbi Druckman has proven that in the past 4 years he has learned a few lessons in politics. He showed that behind his humble exterior there lurks a "political tiger." In order to succeed in the NRP, in order to influence its political institutions, Druckman had to form his own faction in the Knesset in order to have clout and become a minister. His status as a disciple of Rabbi Yehudah Kuk, the spiritual leader of the Gush Emunim followers, only enabled him to reach the Knesset. In order to go higher he needed more support. He became familiar with the weaknesses of the young. They were the weakest part of the triangle made up of "Lamifneh," "Likud U'tumrah," and the young faction. Hence also the tremendous pressure he put on them. In what seemed at first a lost battle, they switched, with Druckman's help, from a defensive position to the offensive. Now the second round started, as they threw down the gauntlet to "Lamifneh," headed by Burg and Ben Natan.

As a federated party, the NRP is divided into the following factions: "Lamifneh," the large faction with members of Knesset Burg, Melamed, and Ben Tzion Rubin.

"Likud U'tmurah" also has three Knesset members, Abu Hatzera, Glass, and Pinhas Sheinman. The young along with the "Central List" have three Knesset members--Hammer, Ben Meir, and Zerah Varhaftig. Rabbi Druckman is in second place in the list for the Knesset (after Burg and Hammer as an agreed candidate). Two other members of Knesset represent the 70 NRP seats--Eliezer Avtavi and Mrs Sarah Stern-Katan of the Religious Women's Movement.

The proposal agreed upon by Hammer, Ben Meir, and Druckman calls for a new division of the representation in the Knesset. Each of the three large factions will only have two candidates in the 12 first places. In addition to Rabbi Druckman as an agreed candidate, the realistic list (until the 12th place) will include 2 additional candidates. Druckman wanted Jewish Agency executive committee member Yoske Shapira and Rabbi Tzvi Moshe Nerayah, but Hammer and Ben Meir persuaded him to shelve those two. They offered other names instead: The rabbi of Kiryat Shmoneh, Tzfanyah Drori, Rabbi Ya'akov Pilber (of Merkaz Harav in Jerusalem), and Nisan Plonimski, a resident of one of the settlements. Those names are acceptable to Druckman and to the young faction. A commonality was reached. The candidates are members of Gush Emunim as well as members or activists in the young faction in the NRP. This means that if the joint demand of the young and Druckman is accepted, they will form a 5-6 member faction in the Knesset.

Who Will Be Sacrificed

The decision to increase the "pie" of the youth at the expense of the other factions, especially when everyone is afraid of a decline in the NRP position in the next Knesset, has raised the tension in the party. Every central activist is checking to see if he or she is not about to be sacrificed because of the daring agreement which was reached last Tuesday at the Knesset with Druckman. If Rabbi Druckman is a candidate for a minister's position, the victim will be Abu Hatzera or Burg. Abu Hatzera's status is more shaky, but the young would like to get rid of Burg in order to crown Hammer as head of the party. Who will be the Knesset member of "Likud U'tmurah" to be sacrificed? Abu Hatzera, Glass, or Sheinman? Nearly every NRP Knesset member is a potential victim, excepting the ones related to the young. Hammer and Ben Meir, in an agreement with Druckman, have insured their seats (as indicated, according to the proposal, each major faction will have two candidates). The agreement with Druckman, then, is at the expense of the other factions in the NRP--Hammer and Ben Meir will not be affected by it. Such arrangements could have been concluded between Hammer and Druckman from a position of power, with Hammer believing that he has what it takes, or from a position of weakness, as the only way out.

"Lamifneh" people are convinced that Hammer has made a mistake. Ben Natan is now counting his troops in the NRP. He has a majority in the united executive committee, which picks the party's Knesset representatives. He is supported by "Lamifneh," most of the Central List people, the Varhaftig-Eliezer Goelman faction, and the David Glass group, which took 7 percent after leaving "Likud U'tmurah." He also relies on the traditional support of the religious moshavim, part of the religious kibbutzim, and the Religious Women's Movement. If a fire breaks out in the NRP, it will consume Abu Hatzera's faction, which will be crushed between the two larger factions, although there is a good chance that if he is proven innocent he will return to the political arena with renewed vigor and will form a party outside the NRP or inside it which will unify the Sfardi groups.

Ben Natan and Burg will be having a problem: How to fight the young. "Lamifneh" may have a majority in the party's institutions, but what will they do if Hammer will follow Druckman and will threaten with a rift? Under the slogan of establishing the "beautiful NRP" and with the certainty of being an "electoral asset," despite the weakening of the NRP, or perhaps because of it, the party's young may join Druckman. Such a scenario was considered when the young weighed the options and realized that Burg and his followers are not assured of an easy victory. It is clear, in any case, that the bargaining season on the eve of the elections, promises a rather hot spring in the NRP.

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CSC: 4805/190a

EHRlich SEEKS TO HEAD LIBERAL LIST

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 18 Mar 81 p 8

[Article by Avi Betteiheim: "Ehrlich Will Look for First Place on Liberal List; Half of Liberal Knesset Members Not Expected To Pass 60 Percent Barrier; Concern Over Replacement by 'Dubious' Candidates"]

[Text] Simha Ehrlich, chairman of the Liberal Party and deputy prime minister, will place himself in first place at the party's center meeting in May. Ehrlich, who needs 60 percent majority in order to secure his place in the next Knesset, has decided to confront the members of his party's center and take on any candidate who offers his candidacy for first place on the party's list.

Members of the Liberal Party feel that this initiative will give Ehrlich a clear majority and will show confidence in his leadership. The only candidate who might oppose him and run for first place is Mr Yitzhaq Moda'i, chairman of the presidium, who also needs 60 percent in order to serve in the 10th Knesset.

Mr Moda'i has two choices: to challenge Ehrlich and risk the political future of both (since both may end up getting less than 60 percent); or to challenge the center meeting, where the other candidates for the next Knesset will be decided.

There is puzzlement in the Liberal Party over the council's decision to pick the party's candidates in one round of voting, which will be personal and secret. There is fear in the party that the enmity among individuals and factions may open the way for dubious candidates in top position on the party's list for the Knesset.

A senior member of the party said yesterday: "The vote in the party's center will be a responsible vote of conscience; 240 members of the center will use their judgment in doing what is best for the party. If this democratic election will bring in dubious candidates, it will be the end of the democratic system in the Liberal Party, and we will have to resort to other methods, like a nomination committee."

Ministers and members of Knesset of the Liberal Party do not discount the possibility that the internal election in the party's center may remove about half of the present members of Knesset (13 representatives).

PO'ALEY AGUDAT YISRA'EL LIST

TA042036 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Po'aley Agudat Yisra'el's Actions Committee today elected party chairman, Avraham Verdiger, as the head of that party's Knesset list. The second slot was given to industrialist Shalom Notem, the third to Rabbi Shim'on Elituv—one of the leaders of the Habad [Hassidic] Movement, and the fourth, to Shmu'el Weinberg.

CSO: 4803/200b-F

KNESSET RAFI FACTION

TA181133 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 18 May 81

[Text] The name "RAFI Faction" no longer exists. The chairman of the Knesset House Committee, Moshe Miron, came up with a compromise suggestion to MK's Hurvitz, Shoval and Peretz, who had constituted the RAFI faction, but who recently went their separate ways. Hurvitz and Shoval, who joined Dayan's movement, will now have--along with Dayan--the name "Telem." Yitzhaq Peretz, who remained in the Likud, will henceforth be known as the "State List," but without the addition "RAFI." The two sides agreed to this compromise.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

LIKUD TO TAKE BACK RAFI MEMBERS

TA101455 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 10 May 81

[Text] At a consultation among the Likud heads held today, it was decided to take back the RAFI members who decided not to join Moshe Dayan's list, into the Likud. These [RAFI members] are led by Yitzhaq Peretz. At the consultations it was agreed that Peretz would be given a realistic place on the Likud list for the 10th Knesset.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

LIKUD LA'AM FACTION CHOOSES KNESSET CANDIDATES

TA182107 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2100 GMT 18 May 81

[Text] The Likud La'am faction's executive this evening chose its candidates for the 10th Knesset. They will be incorporated within the Likud list. Health Minister Eli'azer Shostak occupies the first slot. In the competition over the second place MK Yig'al Kohen beat out Ehud Olmert who gained the third place. MK Amonon Lin was elected to the fourth slot on the La'am list.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

HERUT CHOOSES KNESSET LIST CANDIDATES

TA181838 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 18 May 81

[Text] The Herut Center chose the first seven candidates to follow Prime Minister Menahem Begin on its Knesset election list. First is Minister David Levi, followed by Ya'akov Meridor, Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, Minister Ari'el Sharon and MK's Moshe Arens and Dov Shilansky. They were elected by a large majority.

Now the second round of voting is taking place, in which the Herut Center is to elect the next seven candidates on the list. The elections will probably last until late this evening.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

HERUT COMPLETES ITS KNESSET LIST

TA190555 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] At dawn the Herut Center completed the election of the third group of seven members on the Likud Knesset list. The third group of seven includes, in the order of their election: Hayim Corfu, Amal Nasir Ad-dain, Yosef Rom, Yig'al Kohen-Orgad, Me'ir Kohen, and the chairman of the Yavne Local Council, Me'ir Shitrit. Thus the election of the 21 Herut representatives to those places considered to be 'realistic' has been completed. They will be elected in groups of seven, one after the other. [para as received]

Our correspondent Asher Schwartz notes that two Knesset members, Eytan Livne and David Sterne, have not been elected among them.

These are the candidates who were elected to the first places on the list, after Menahem Begin. Begin will be followed in order by David Levi, Ya'akov Meridor, Yitzhaq Shamir, Yoram Aridor and Ari'el Sharon.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

EHRLICH ELECTED HEAD OF LIBERAL PARTY

TA171733 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] This evening, the Liberal Party Center elected Simha Ehrlich as head of the party. Our correspondent Asher Schwartz reports that Ehrlich mustered the support of 72 percent of the members of the Center whereas his rival, Yisra'el Peled, gained 27 percent. Later, another ballot was cast and Ehrlich's election was unanimously approved.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

MERIDOR TO JOIN LIKUD RANKS

TA291057 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 29 Apr 81

[Text] Menahem Begin today suggested to [businessman and former Irgun activist] Ya'akov Meridor that the latter run for a Knesset seat on behalf of the Herut movement and the Likud. He also offered Meridor a special cabinet role if the Likud again forms the government. He will be coordinator of interministerial activities, primarily in the area of economic planning.

Mr Meridor accepted the prime minister's suggestions. Our correspondent Razi Bargay reported that Meridor will thus be one of the Likud leaders in the next Knesset and will hold a key cabinet position if the Likud wins the election.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

MR DRUCKMAN TO REMAIN IN NRP

TA141955 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] MR Hayim Druckman this evening decided to remain on the NRP's Knesset list. The decision was made following a 5-hour discussion held by the Eytanim group in the NRP, which is headed by Rabbi Druckman. Our party affairs correspondent, Nisim Mish'al, reports also that the second representative from Rabbi Druckman's group on the NRP list will be Me'ir Har-noy of Qedumim, in Samaria, who will be assigned the 11th slot on the NRP's list. Rabbi Druckman said this evening that the two representatives of his group would see to the strengthening of the NRP's political stands.

CSO: 4805/200b-F

ALIGNMENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENT

TA201403 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 May 81 p 10

[Alignment election campaign advertisement covering a full page, featuring pictures of Alignment's against Likud's designate ministers, entitled: "This One Against This One, These Against These"]

[Text] Shim'on Peres vs Menahem Begin: Who is more balanced in his speech and acts? Who is more stable in spirit and behavior? Who has foresight and stands with both feet on the ground—and who is carried away by his eloquence and ignores reality? Who acts responsibly in times of crisis—and who is unnecessarily dragged into crises?

Abban Eban vs Yitzhak Shamir: Who is more capable of honorably representing Israel among the nations of the world, of hitting our enemies with his sharp articulateness, of negotiating with the leaders of nations, of explaining to and persuading friends and foes?

Hayim Bar-Lev vs Ari'el Sharon: Who reflects more security and confidence, composure and reliability in times of emergency and crisis? One was a successful chief of staff and is now the candidate for the post of defense minister—and the other strived in vain to obtain the first post and is now striving to obtain the second post.

With which one of them will you be able to sleep more securely?

Hayim Ben-Shahar vs Yoram Aridor: Who is an outstanding man of economics and who is a rank amateur? Who is a serious professional and who is learning at our expense? Who is capable of healing the economy—and who is aggravating its malaises?

These against these. This one against this one. You will choose.

It is up to you to avail Israel with a national leadership that knows what it is doing and does what it knows.

A strong Israel—that is an Israel headed by a responsible, experienced and creative leadership.

[signed] Together, a strong Israel. The Alignment, the Labor Party and MAPAM.

CSO: 4805/200c-F

HETEROGENEOUS MAKEUP OF LABOR PARTY ANALYZED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 6 Mar 81 p 16

[Article by Meir Barel: "The Party and the Movement"]

[Text] The public struggle has broken down the rule of factions in the Labor Party. The framework of Ahdut Ha'avodah may still exist, although it has lost important leaders who had supported Peres and may not return to that narrow framework, especially since they may be regarded by their friends as "traitors." It is doubtful whether this framework can last long after the new alignments in the party.

If the results of the struggle were not so clear cut, instead of the rule of factions, we might have seen the "time of gifts." This is not too likely after such a vast Peres victory. Peres' supporters are too heterogeneous to stand united against the Rabin minority for too long. It consists of various groupings, which are known by the name of the place where they first met (Yahdav, Beit Berl). It includes people with differing opinions in political and security matters, as well as in socioeconomical questions. Even in questions of party organization there are differences of opinion (democracy versus party machine rule etc).

The minority may be more cohesive, although not necessarily homogeneous. In fact, it may wish not to be so cohesive, since the results of the elections, if reflected in the representation it will have in the party's institutions, will make it hard for its people to function in the party. They will live within a percentage ghetto (a rather low 28.8 percent). Political wisdom dictates that they disband so that they are not bound by this unfortunate 28.8 percent. Minority groups in the Labor Party never did well, which does not encourage Rabin supporters to repeat the experience. This does not mean that the Labor Party will work in the future as one unified body set on achieving common goals. Nor is this necessarily desirable. There will be rifts in the Labor Party, there will be debates and even fights. The debates should focus on ideology, but one would have to be naive to believe that this will be the main direction of the debates (and certainly the fights). The need for control and power will certainly come into play, and different sides with conflicting views on vital national issues will be clashing over those issues.

The moderating influence may come from the formal organizing into branches and regions. Much groundwork has been done in the party to establishing a constitution

and structuring the branches and the regions. Their status has been strengthened, and the heads of the large regions are working to take the place of the old party factions. They will be playing an important role in the future, but it is doubtful they will have exclusive power. There are other forces in the Labor Party which transcend the regions, while the ideological groupings are in effect the weaker ones. This is part of what is ailing the Labor Party. Most of the ideological grouping is within ideological circles which receive wide exposure in the media each time they happen to meet to discuss an issue, particularly in the area of security.

One of the national groups which exerts a great deal of influence is Oriental Jews. There is a question as to whether it is one bloc or separate groups of North Africans (or even Moroccans), Yemenite, Iraqi and other Oriental Jews. Some include Spanish Jews in it as well. The women's organization also transcends regional boundaries, although women belong to the regions. The same is true about the young guard. All these groups vie for power in the party and are referred to by the media as "power centers."

The fundamental question, of course, is, what is the ideological or the spiritual content of the Labor Party? This is a crucial question for the members and for the public at large—why vote for this party? Those loyal to the party ask why should they belong to it, especially if they are not seeking an office. In other words--the party vis-a-vis the movement.

The Labor Party, formerly Mapai, was the ruling party. The two were synonymous. This is why the 1977 election was considered a "revolution." Much has been said about the work Peres and his followers did to rehabilitate the party. But the question is, what has been rehabilitated and what is still waiting its turn, both in the party and in the movement?

The recent census taken by the party has been referred to as the first honest one. Such a statement casts aspersion on the past, which still influences the present. (Although the latest census was different from the ones in the past.) The question is, who was counted? What were people told? Why were they invited to join the party, rather than just vote for it? This was especially true about the young generation--why were they asked to join the young guard? Was this always the case? Those are questions more of the labor movement than the Labor Party. Indeed, the movement has problems which transcend the questions of foreign affairs or security or even economy and social issues.

The organizational body known as the Labor Party also has fundamental problems which have been put aside but which will have to be addressed before long. In its convention last December the party dealt with its internal problems but did not decide on the democratic question of how to decide on appointments. In a democracy one does not pick ideas and platforms but rather people. The voters' right (not their duty!) is to consider the views of those they vote for in order to put ideas and platforms into effect.

One of the basic problems of the Labor Party is that it has reached a dead end in picking candidates for its institutions and lists. Even an appointments committee (and there is no use in changing the name from appointments committee to organizing committee—it is the same thing) raises strong and justified criticism. So does the method of personal appointments according to the established system.

It may be true that this problem is even more severe in other parties. But this does not make it any better, especially since the urgency of solving this problem is greater when it comes to a larger party, like the Labor Party.

The party leaders may feel that it is better to postpone these problems until after the elections to the Histadrut and to the Knesset, since they do not determine whether one would or wouldn't vote for the Alignment. Yet because of it, these problems can be dealt with even now, before the elections. The need to deal with these problems is tied to the Labor Party's ability to pay attention to them, precisely because the party cannot divorce itself from them.

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CSO: 4805/190b

PERES TRIES TO BUILD LABOR PARTY MORALE

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 19 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Meir Bareli: "What Was Reconstructed and What Wasn't?"]

[Text] After Mapai's defeat in the municipal elections in the early days of the state, one party activist referred to the results of the elections as a "fiasco." Mapai secretary at the time, A. Aran, protested the use of the term and insisted that the word "defeat" be used instead, since he felt "fiasco" sounded too final.

Without getting into semantics, suffice it to agree with Aran that one should carefully distinguish between the two terms. When Shimon Peres first gathered the party activists, his primary task was to turn the fiasco into a defeat. He had some tough, complicated, and unpleasant chores, which none of his predecessors in the party had to face.

The result of the election did not only lower the morale of the activists. It also reduced the funding of the Labor Party as a result of the party funding law which provides funds to each party according to the number of its Knesset members. The Labor Party lost in May 1977 a little less than 40 percent of its representation, with a commensurate loss of state funds. One need not be an expert in party management to know that a good portion of the funds is spent automatically on maintenance of facilities, salaries and the like. When revenue is reduced, activities are curtailed. One of the important proposals which Peres made to the party and to which the party agreed was cutting that which was not to be cut. The greatest cut was in the staff of party workers, in the central office and in the local offices. This released funds for the local offices which Peres proceeded to visit. In answering the question of how he helped the local offices recover, one might say, tongue in cheek: He went to the clubs, he turned on the light, dusted the furniture, and made the activists blush a little.

He saw it as his main task to help restore the Labor Party's ability to act and to fight. The way things looked in 1977, even a Likud defeat would not have saved the Alignment. It looked finished. The victory in the election to the Histadrut gave the party some new life, yet the party workers felt that the public accepted the new reality--the Likud in the government and the Alignment in the Histadrut. Peres set out to correct this "stability," aided by the Histadrut victory, yet not able to use it as a definitive remedy.

The Labor Party's ability to take stands was also impaired. "What right do you have to talk?" were the words used to silence its spokesmen. This is the main reason why the Labor Party did not insist on changes in the Camp David Accords to secure Israel's retention of airfields and settlements in western Sinai.

After the Labor Party was reorganized and was ready for the election, it began to suffer from internal struggle. The struggle between Peres and Alon, which ended with the latter's untimely death, would have never reached the same proportions it reached when Alon's banner was thrust into Rabin's hands. Peres did not change, but instead of Alon came Rabin, which made all the difference in the world. The reconstruction work stopped in the middle. The struggle began when Peres had to conduct a campaign to put new life into the party. He had inherited a party which was not only beaten and publicly humiliated, but also in serious decline. The decline did not start after the Yom Kippur War. Back in the 1950's the party's young leadership, including Peres, severely criticized the public life in the party, its democratic process, but not necessarily in the right direction (more on this in future articles). All of this had to be rehabilitated. Not only the 1977 defeat. In the short time he had, no one could have done more than Peres did.

When one says "Shimon Peres rehabilitated," the question is raised, did he do it alone? Did others do nothing? If others did nothing, it would not have succeeded. Yet Peres was not only the man at the head, he was the prime mover who called everyone and persuaded people to lend their support. The party appreciated his work, most of all Golda Meir. It is no secret that during the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's, Golda Meir was quite hostile toward Peres. As foreign minister who took Moshe Sharet's place, she "inherited" her predecessor's problems of working with Ben-Gurion. It was easy for her to attribute those problems to Ben-Gurion's director general of the ministry of defense, later vice minister of defense, Shimon Peres. When relations in the party worsened, she once again attributed to him all that was wrong with the political group which opposed her. This was true of the relations between Mapai and RAFI, and so it continued in the Labor Party. The inclusion of Peres in the government was forced on her, as was related in a previous article. By the end of her term, when Peres was minister of information in her government, she somewhat changed her opinion about him. Still, after Rabin had to step down as prime minister, she recommended Alon rather than Peres for the job. When Alon did not accept, but rather reached an agreement with Peres to be "number two" on the list and in the government, Golda was so angry she refused to "close the list" (to be candidate number 120, an honorary place reserved for inactive VIPs). Instead, the place was given to Rivkah Guber, the well-known mother of the two sons who fell in the War of Independence.

Golda Meir in her old age, when one does not change one's opinions, was aware of Peres' work in restoring the party. She did change her mind about him.

While the party was rebuilding itself, a change toward it was taking place in the public mind. This, of course, had also to do with the failures of the government which had replaced the Alignment. Yet it was necessary to rebuild the party in order to provide a home for the new sympathies which are slow in coming, and received the votes which the Likud was about to lose. There had to be more than one alternative.

PERES' ECONOMIC PROGRAM CRITICIZED

Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 20 Mar 81 p 7

[Article by Yitzhak Deutsch: 'Levinson's 'No' and Aridor's Index']

[Text] Ya'akov Levinson's announcement that he will not be the Alignment's candidate for finance minister and the establishment of an "economic team" in his place, is the first crack in the wall of the Alignment's determination to offer an economic alternative. One should bear in mind that the Alignment is making a special effort to focus the election campaign on the economy. In foreign affairs the government seems to have a clear advantage over the opposition, because of its two major achievements: peace with Egypt and stopping the terrorists. Hence the Alignment focuses its attack on the economy. Mystery man Ya'akov Levinson appeared as an economic savior. His last minute "no" has hurt the Alignment.

Establishing an economic team--which includes Professor Hayim Ben Shazar, president of Tel Aviv University, Naftali Blumental, director general of Kur, and Gad Ya'aqovi, chairman of the economic committee and former minister of transport--is Shimon Peres' compromise. One may say, a typical compromise. The same approach was used to establish the center of the Labor Party which includes more than 1,000 members. When a proper representation cannot be found one blows up the number and thus silences opponents and glosses over differences of opinion.

Shimon Peres and Ya'akov Levinson had had long talks. Levinson's economic philosophy is not known. So far he has only given one speech, at the Labor convention. (Another appearance at a forum on "Israel's economy" for businessmen was canceled at the last moment.) Subsequently he gave two brief interviews for the daily press last Friday. Still, in the public mind he appeared as an economic savior, precisely because of his silence and his mystery. He did not show up at a press conference where he had to give answers to some fundamental questions. To the best of our knowledge he refused to appear on the Moqed program on television. He preferred to make partial statements without any real disclosures. The little he did say raised some strong objections. The impression he gave was a desire to keep the economy under prolonged freeze, which requires control and administrative intervention. The arrangements and commentary which followed did not change this impression. It seemed that if he were to present this program during the election campaign, while emphasizing that he was striving for economic growth which would raise the standard of living, it is doubtful whether he would have attracted too many people.

The arrangements for the elimination of Levinson's candidacy were not all of one kind. Some say he was aspiring to the post of prime minister or finance minister on the order of an economic czar, or an economic prime minister. Yet he held back. As he got close to the goal he was afraid to conquer it. He gave Peres conditions which Peres could not accept. Peres was afraid Levinson wanted to be a second prime minister in his government, with the power to pick other ministers of finance. Peres saw this as an erosion of his position and they had a parting of the ways.

The Efficacy of the Team

Does the economic team make the Alignment's economic policy look promising? It is interesting to note that this team was established without first deciding on an economic program. Only after the team was picked was it decided that it would sit down and discuss policy. When it was felt that a vacuum had been created, Naftali Blumental appeared at a press conference, raising the question in one's mind whether he was the candidate for minister of finance. In any case, despite the forming of the team the Alignment continues to talk with several voices on economic issues. There is more commonality in the criticism than in the presentation of economic alternatives. So much for substance. As for leadership: it seems that Professor Hayim Ben-Shahar is not at all interested in becoming finance minister. First of all, he is in a good position. His job as university president is both prestigious and remunerative. In addition, he is active in public affairs and is considered an excellent candidate for any important national committee, such as the tax reform committee. Hence he cannot fail. If on the other hand he becomes finance minister, he will have to show results within a certain period of time. If he does not achieve defined goals in the area of inflation and balance of payments, his position will be affected. And he has something to lose. Surely he does not want people to say that professors and theoreticians are not successful in the real world. One recalls that academicians have not been successful at the treasury: Professor Michael Bruno, who served as Yehoshua Raboniwitz's advisor, resigned; Professor Asaf Rozin, Simha Ehrlich's advisor, was fired by the government. Hence the job of finance minister does not particularly attract him, given all the difficulties. He may be candidate for head of the Israel Bank, a job which will open up in November, a few months after the forming of the government. Until then a great deal of water will flow through the Jordan. By then the present head, Arnon Gafni, may be declared suitable to work with the government, because of his professionalism and because of his compatibility with the government. Hence, Professor Ben-Shahar's candidacy is rather theoretical. Naftali Blumental, on the other hand, comes from the business world as head of Kur. This is a successful Histadrut company. But he has not proven himself in charting economic plans and policies. He did not have the combined experience of economic policy and implementation. A successful business has served before as finance minister, but his experience was no guarantee for success in running the treasury. His personal background does not disqualify him, but neither does it offer a new message nor does it have the personal halo Levinson now seems to have. It should be added that he is not too eager about it himself, and would rather serve as minister of commerce and industry. But after Levinson said no and Ben-Shahar said "I'll think about it" which was taken to mean no, then he is in effect the candidate. The third member of the team is Gad Ya'aqovi. His experience as minister of transport does not indicate that this is necessarily the model to aspire to.

In sum, there is no great promise in this team. Not in substance nor in terms of the participants themselves. It seems, then, that in this round the Alignment has lost a lot of points. Levinson has not materialized. Ben-Shahar says no to the treasury and is used as windowdressing for the team. All the members of the team are important personalities, but they cause no surprise in the Israeli economic policy arena and they have no success story to tell about conducting the economy and the economic policies.

What Happens to Aridor?

This week was also Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's deadline. He had to present the consumer price index which went up by 5.5 percent. Such a rise shows that the economy is boiling. Yet no one has expected that the economy would be tamed as a result of Aridor's measures. Those measures were intended to keep things over a "small fire." Yet the economy did reach a boiling point. The propaganda ads play games with statistics. They tell us that in Ehrlich's time the February index was 2.4 percent, in Hurvitz's 4.9 percent, and Aridor's 5.5 percent. Yet the same figures can prove the opposite. Between 1979 and 1980 the rise in index doubled, while between 1980 and 1981 it only went up by 0.1 percent! But statistics aside, this index is nothing to brag about. It fits the expectations which the new policy has caused. The fact remains that all estimates put the rise between 5 and 6 percent, with the actual result exactly in the middle.

The February index raises the question of what's next. It shows that the measures which have been taken do not provide for restraint. Not raising or even lowering the price of a certain product only influences that same product. Such action creates expectations, yet outside pressures come into play: What will happen after June? Other pressures have to do with injection of funds which may have an impact later on. It is also known that the natural process promises sharper rise in prices in April and May. (In April 1980 the index went up 10.2 percent, and in May that year 9.5 percent.) The treasury is planning to "let out steam." The inspection of products is being delayed, tariffs are not being raised, and certain prices are lowered. All of this is aimed at slowing down the rise in the index during those 2 months. The task is far from simple, since "the guns have already been fired." The high subsidies entail huge expenses. Although funds are absorbed by the savings plans, the government's expenditure exceeds its revenue from taxes.

No Long Range Solution

The measures which Finance Minister Yoram Aridor has taken create a calm mood for the moment. If these measures were combined with other, stricter ones, they might bring a change in the long run. By themselves they do not provide a long range solution. In order to curb inflation and improve the balance of payments, a more radical treatment is needed, which would limit the money available to the public and will not automatically compensate the public for every rise in prices. Yet both the finance minister and the "alternative team" are not prepared to say it quite yet.

ALIGNMENT SEEN DISORGANIZED BEFORE ELECTIONS

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 26 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Amnon Barzilay: "A Splitting Party"]

[Text] The Labor Party conducts its election campaign from two hotels in north Tel Aviv. One hotel, Deborah, used to cater to rich religious Jews. It closed down after a fire which claimed the lives of some of the guests. Now the Labor Party has put new life into this hotel. Its election staff has set up headquarters on the second floor of this neglected and ungainly building, where only the cheap carpets and the private baths remind one of its past. Not far from there, the "millionaire" supporters of the party have set up the Alef headquarters at the more luxurious Dan Hotel. Alef headquarters were transferred from a small office on the ground floor to a two-room luxury suite on the second floor. Equidistant from both hotels is the party house on Hayarqon Street, neglected and abandoned. It appears as though member of Knesset Hayim Bar-Lev, the party's secretary general has disappeared along with the rest of the party under the tables and chairs.

About 6 weeks ago the members of the Labor Party witnessed an unusual scene, when Knesset member Shimon Peres, the party chairman, pounded on the table with his fist and shouted at Knesset member Eliyahu Speiser something like: "I insist that the election staff go into action immediately without any further delays." It was the climax of the confrontation between the two. Speiser was against activating the staff at such an early stage, as was suggested by staff head Aharon Harel, but Peres sided with Harel, which pleased Speiser's opponents. Peres was at his best. He was resolute and unswerving, as his friends hoped he would be when he was elected party chairman at the last convention.

Yet the clash which pleased Peres' friends did not signal a positive turning point, neither for Peres nor for the election staff. The party's organizing for the election is shaky. Infighting, duplication in assignments and organizing, criticism about Peres' scant involvement, information blunders by Peres' office (like the visit to Morocco), and above all the feeling that the public has changed its attitude toward the Likud, as well as the fear of Dayan's new party, all this has contributed to a pessimistic mood in the party. The latest polls which are not encouraging from the Labor Party's standpoint, confirm the new trend. The new figures raise the fear that even if the Labor Party wins, it will find it difficult to form a coalition, if not altogether impossible. Such disappointing prognosis may require a different propaganda approach in the coming campaign.

Two Heads

Now that the election campaign for the Histadrut is entering the last phase, the final preparations for massive activation of the election staff are in fact concluded. Thus far Aharon Harel and his vice chairman, Knesset member Avraham Katz-Oz, who is in charge of the organization, have worked on gathering the staff. For the first time in the history of the party the headquarters have been shifted from the party house to another building. For the first time the election staff has two heads. The first, Dr Michael Bar Zohar, was picked for the job over 3 years ago at Mr Peres' recommendation. But on the eve of the election year, Mr Peres preferred Aharon Harel, who led the fight against Yitzhak Rabin. In order to get around Bar Zohar, Harel was given another title, "director of the election campaign." Both Harel and Bar Zohar work out of the Deborah Hotel. Both have an office, a battery of telephones, and paid secretaries. Outwardly they appear to cooperate with each other, yet staff members can tell you about their jealousy and resentment. The party chairman is responsible for an impossible situation. He has appointed two men for the same job, when in effect the man in charge is Aharon Harel.

The removal of the election headquarters from the party house reflects another strange development. Hayim Bar-Lev, the party secretary who has been on the job since the party's defeat in the last election, is without any real part to play. He is in charge of all activities in the party house. Organization, funds, manpower, propaganda. The new headquarters headed by Harel and Katz-Oz has neutralized him. Bar-Lev was deeply hurt. He played mad and went on a UJA mission abroad. Anyone who looked for him recently could find him in Europe. He came back last week waving another invitation for a UJA mission in late March and April. Only after some of his well wishers hinted that prolonged absence may hurt his position, he changed his mind and canceled the trip.

What was useful for the Labor Party in the last election campaign was now found inadequate. The transfer of the headquarters to the Deborah Hotel had its own dynamics. The body with the two staff heads now acquired the hump of three propaganda division heads, Hayim Herzog, Knesset member Yosi Sarid, and Moshe Halfon (Rabin representative). All promise that they will act in perfect harmony, but the work so far is sluggish. Another problem was Peres' proposal to appoint Mota Gur as the man in charge of the party's young. This proposal, which was intended to give the former chief of staff something to do, enraged the party's young. The young guard's secretary Hayim Rimon attacked the idea, which would cause unnecessary duplication. Others, like Speiser, came to the defense of the party's old workers and objected to bringing in outsiders. As a result, Gur was demoted to a position of "coordinator" of the young guard. He too will have an office and will render services to the young at Mr Rimon's request.

A Mini-party

Paralleling Peres' appointments, Avraham Katz-Oz established at the election headquarters a complex organizational system. The country has been divided into areas headed by people some of whom have not been active in the party before. They include retired generals Avraham Adan (Bren), Musa Peled, Ariel Amiad, as well as administrators like Amos Aran, Amos Mar-Hayim, and David Shazar. The inclusion of these volunteers has caused great furor in the party. Since the

process of the party's rehabilitation started, Hayim Bar-Lev has worked as a secretary general to rebuild the party organization. The party has always had organizers. Yet those have no part in the reorganized election headquarters. They have therefore boycotted Katz-Oz's new organizational system.

Members of the Labor Party are now talking about the formation of a "mini-party" which came into being for no reason at the Deborah Hotel. It is a clumsy machine, overcrowded, which burdens the shriveled coffers of the party, and may inflate its campaign expenses. This human mass may also weigh down Peres, who is burdened by the many promises he was forced to make he alluded to. Not to mention the fact that the shifting of the center of power to the Deborah Hotel may invest those who are at the hotel with more power than those who were left inactive at the party house.

Quietly and unobtrusively, the Alef organization is also gathering momentum. Without party control (only elections staff head Aharon Harel is involved in the Alef operation), a giant machine is being built here. Mr Shmuel Frankel, Alef's director general (with full salary), talks about setting up 120 (!) branches throughout the country. Each branch will have a chairman and a director. Most will be volunteers, but some, especially in the big cities, will get full salary. The goal of the organization is to get 200,000 additional votes for the party. No one has yet been able to answer the question why Alef can get more votes than the election staff. Is it because Alef has more unaffiliated, who could influence tens of thousands of voters to support the party? The clear feeling is that Alef was organized in order to funnel funds to the party without having to pass the scrutiny of the state comptroller. The fact that Alef is an Ottoman association helps get around the election funding law. There are some sharp lawyers in Alef who know how to find the loopholes in the law.

Yet the organization set up by Alef competes with both the party and the election staff. Working for Alef is at least for some a jumping board to skip over the hurdles put by some of the party activists on the way to more prestigious posts at a later date, if the Labor Party wins.

Another aspect of Alef's activity was revealed when Peres traveled to Morocco. A clash was uncovered between Alef and the election staff. Not only a fight for possible control positions in the party, but also emphasis in the election campaign. The election staff wants to put the emphasis on internal issues, on socioeconomic problems. The heads of Alef and magnates Al Schwimmer, Jean Friedman and others, do not speak Hebrew. They are proud of their extensive international activities and their contacts in world markets and with leaders in the West and in Muslim countries. They try to talk Peres into going on frequent visits abroad and meeting with Western and Arab leaders. They feel he will increase his international prestige this way. They can help him in this direction, and they have money and contacts. They were responsible for his contacts with King Hassan, and perhaps with other Arab leaders.

The debate between Alef and the Labor Party leaders, then, is substantive. While the heads of Alef enjoy an international atmosphere along with Peres, the feeling inside the party is that such activity shifts public interest to foreign

affairs and plays into the hands of the Likud. This happened last week because of some conflicting statements which made Peres lose public trust. Now, on the eve of the election campaign, which promises to be most difficult, people in the party house are asking: "If this is the situation in the party 3 months before the election, what will happen to the party and to Shimon after the elections?"

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MUHAMMAD WATAD TO REPRESENT ARABS FOR MAPAM

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 13 Mar 81 p 17

[Article by Dani Rubinstein: "A Near Dream and a Far Dream"]

[Text] Muhammad Watad, 43, of the village of Gat in the West Bank, is likely to be MAPAM's Arab representative in the next Knesset. Since the death of Abd al-Aziz al-Zuwaybi MAPAM has not had an Arab member of Knesset, which has disturbed the party activists, who have worked hard to make the party appear a Jewish-Arab coalition. Besides the communist party, MAPAM was for many years the only Israeli party which accepted Arabs, and its realistic list to the Knesset always included an Arab. There was a time, 15-20 years ago, when MAPAM was a real rival to RAKAH (then MAKI) in vying for Arab votes. RAKAH has since grown, and in the last election over 50 percent of Israeli Arabs voted for it. Arab MAPAM, on the other hand, has been shrinking. As part of the Alignment, MAPAM found it hard to attract Arab voters by fighting for Arab affairs. Once the Alignment became the opposition party, MAPAM regained some of its old momentum in the Arab community. Muhammad Watad's candidacy is part of this momentum.

Watad's father was a junior officer in the Turkish army, who was forced to serve during World War I on the Armenian front. Watad says he grew up on his father's stories, how his father along with other Arab soldiers disobeyed an order to annihilate an Armenian village. His father took 2 years to hike back to his village of Gat, near Baga al Gharbiyya, and returned to farming and to his favorite occupation of local orthopedist, in which he was an expert. Watad grew up as the only child of his father's second wife. Their home was a local clinic, where patients stayed overnight. His father died when he was 19. He acquired his first political experience at that time.

His first political involvement was with the Communist Youth Alliance (BANKI), while he studied at Baga al Gharbiyya's high school. At that time he met a civilian Jew for the first time. He was Zeev Chiq, a member of Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz Lahavot Havivah, who came to Gat to look for ancient coins. Watad joined him and noticed a number tattooed on his arm. Zeev was a concentration camp survivor (he died recently). Watad asked him innocently whether it was customary in the kibbutz to put those numbers on members' arms. They spoke about the Holocaust, of which Watad knew little. They talked about archeology and poetry, and then Watad told Zeev about his problems as an Israeli Arab and about the solutions he found among the communist youth.

After the meetings with Zeev, Watad joined the MAPAM youth movement and later the Arab young adults who joined the organization's kibbutzim. At first he was a member, later a leader in Gan Shmuel, Ein Shemer, and Kfar Maasarik, where he learned about Zionism, Jewish nationalism, and the State of Israel. It was a different experience from his childhood in Gat and Baga.

In retrospect, MAPAM was disillusioned with that entire generation of young Arabs, which it cultivated in the late 1950's. Of the hundreds of young Arabs, who spent certain periods of time in Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim, the party was not able to form any cadres. Nor was it able to form Jewish-Arab solidarity. The political reality did the opposite. "It may be true," Watad says, "but it was not a failure. MAPAM did bring Arab youth closer to Israel."

During the ensuing years Watad became active in the party. He worked as a journalist and edited AL-MARSAD, the Arab paper of MAPAM, and also worked for radio and television. He also worked at the research center for Arab studies at Givat Havivah. He had many moments of crisis, when many of his peers joined RAKAH and in recent years have been supporting even more radical movements. Watad is convinced his way is right, despite the success of RAKAH. He sees no need to apologize for supporting a Zionist party. "RAKAH recognizes Zionism," he says. "Moreover, the communist party which preceded RAKAH supported the establishment of a Zionist state and has lived under its laws." He adds: "When RAKAH damns Zionism it is being hypocritical and misleads the public." Watad believes in peace and coexistence with Zionism and not with anyone else.

"No, there is no such thing as Israeli nationalism. There is Jewish nationalism, there is Arab nationalism, and there is Israeli citizenship. Some day the term 'Israeli citizen' will have a real meaning. It will be a common denominator for Jews and Arabs who are Israeli citizens." This is a distant dream, and in the meantime Watad wants Jews and Arabs to be reasonable. He does not believe in perfect coexistence. "If we can have reasonable coexistence, we are in good shape."

How do we achieve it?

Watad offers a set of priorities for Israel's Arabs which will help them: "Let the city of Nazareth, for instance, solve the city problems it solves the problems of Palestine, just as Shak'a, when he goes to Kuwait, first raises money for Nabulus. Kopilvitz (director of the department of Arab education) will not come to teach if Arab students continue to shout on the campus long live Palestine instead of going back to the village."

Watad maintains that if MAPAM were outside the Alignment it could attract thousands of young Arabs. He realizes this is not possible under present circumstances, and therefore he feels MAPAM should sharpen its profile within the Alignment. This is true in several areas including the political area. He says: "Many of my people (Palestinian Arabs) have a difficult problem which must be resolved in a way which is acceptable both to us and to Israel. Such a solution will free the Arab minority from the actual meaning of loyalty to the Palestinian cause, which is today disapproved by Israel."

One can tell that Watad has political seniority and experience. His statements are based on Jewish-Arab debates and symposia, which he has taken part in since his youth. MAPAM has high hopes for him.

CANDIDATE EBAN URGES UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. POLICY

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 3 Apr 81 Weekend Supplement p 10

[Interview with Abba Eban, member of Knesset, by Rafael Bashan; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You came back from the United States this week, where you met key people in the new Reagan administration. What is your impression of their attitude toward Israel?

[Answer] (Abba Eban is brilliant. His analysis is deeply intellectual, his Hebrew is impeccable. He is busy these days writing and hosting a 12-part television series on Jewish history. It will be shown on PBS TV in the United States, and has been sold so far to 18 countries around the world. He speaks calmly): I spent a week in the United States and I met with the new team in the State Department, headed by Mr Veliotis, who was a senior official in the U.S. Embassy in Israel, later U.S. ambassador to Jordan. The meeting was attended by senior officials of the department, including Professor David Korn, the head of Secretary of State Alexander Haig's office, and a devoted Jew. I also spoke at length with Henry Kissinger, who among his many occupations is teaching at Georgetown University in Washington, with Senator Henry (Scoop) Jackson, who is quite close to the new administration, and I also met with ex-Senator Jacob Javits who, after retiring from the Senate, has become a revered personality in the United States, not only in Jewish circles. (With visible satisfaction) The Presidents' Club made a rather unusual gesture toward a member of the opposition, when it convened all the heads of Jewish organizations and the press to a meeting with me. The meeting was chaired by Howard Squadron, and after I spoke for 20 minutes I got a call from Professor Korn who asked me to get in touch with Secretary Haig, with whom I spoke for 10 minutes.

The Jimmy Carter Era Is Over

[Question] What did you talk about?

[Answer] He spoke about his interest in meeting with Shimon Peres and myself on the 6th, during his visit to Israel, for a substantive, rather than a merely polite conversation. Secondly, he is aware of Israel's concern regarding the weapons sale to Saudi Arabia. But he is convinced that strengthening the American position will benefit Israel. (Soberly) I was interviewed by Ms Teltsch of the New York TIMES, and I appeared several times on American television networks.

Thus I really had my hand on the pulse. (Frankly) All this activity and the many meetings I attended are not sufficient to truly understand Reagan's attitude toward us. I would not say that U.S. foreign policy toward us has changed radically, but my contacts in Washington convinced me that the Carter era is over!

[Question] In what way?

[Answer] (Unhesitating) First of all globally. The new American regime firmly believes that the past 4 years were years of folding up and unnecessary retreats. To analyze the situation as I see it now, briefly, I would say: In 1972 President Nixon and President Brezhnev agree on detente; (with irony) what happens? North Vietnam, inspired by Moscow, occupies South Vietnam; Cuba sends troops with Soviet help to Angola; Vietnam swallows up Cambodia; communist South Yemen extends "protection" to North Yemen; Russia takes over Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa; and last but not most serious--the Soviet Union occupies Afghanistan. During all this commotion the Khomeini revolution takes place in Iran. (Raises his voice) All the while the U.S. citizen feels humiliated and despised. The hostages were locked up in Iran for a year and a half, and if that wasn't enough, it turns out that the Soviet Union is overtaking the United States in the arms race in a most dangerous way! The new Reagan team has studied the true balance of power and the verdict was given by the voters last November, reflecting their awareness of the situation and their full support of the Reagan administration. This means that America has given the new President a clear mandate to change radically this lopsided situation. In plain words, from now on the United States, in my opinion, will take a much firmer stand toward the Soviet Union, will improve its defense, and will pressure its NATO allies to do the same.

[Question] What does all of this mean in relation to Israel?

[Answer] (Unequivocal) In this total picture which I have presented Israel has unique strategic and ideological importance. I got the impression that the Americans are set on strengthening Israel, since we, first and foremost, need not be overly persuaded about the Soviet danger, which sets us apart from the Arabs. I detected a tendency in Reagan's top echelon to postpone or freeze for a while the intensive dealing with the Israeli-Arab conflict.

[Question] What exactly does that mean?

[Answer] (Immediate) I mean that, in my opinion, the Reagan administration will try to shift the dialogue between the United States and the Arab countries from the question: What will happen with the West Bank and Gaza? to the fundamental question: What are you Israelis and you Arabs willing to do to help the United States correct the lopsided balance of power between itself and the Soviet Union in the Middle East? (After short reflection) This will obligate us to show understanding of the U.S.'s efforts to strengthen its ties with Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf States, in addition to its ties with Egypt. (Slowly and resolutely) I do not wish to be understood as saying that I look back with anger on the Carter administration. During that time we received unprecedented military and economic aid which was vital for the peace process with Egypt. I sincerely hope we do not turn the Carter regime into some retro-active hostile scarecrow! (Hopefully) Yet I hope and pray that the Reagan

administration will increase its military and economic aid to Israel, and I would say that this process, which has already started, will continue. I believe the new regime is even more aware than the previous one of our sensitivity toward the PLO. The United States will take a strong and supportive stand toward us vis-a-vis the European initiative and will make sure we are not totally isolated in the UN! (Soberly) The scenario I have given you I true in regard to coming months, and we must understand that when the United States talks about strengthening its position in the Persian Gulf area, that includes providing a great of sophisticated weapons to Saudi Arabia, despite Israel's worries! (Gravely) I maintain that immediately after the elections in Israel the United States will ask us for suggestions and initiatives to further the peace process, (lowers his voice), that is, the sky in future U.S.-Israeli relations will not always be clear.

[Question] You have served for 9 years as Israeli ambassador to the United States and as head of our delegation to the UN, and then as foreign minister. Did you meet the future U.S. President during that time?

[Answer] (Warmly) Yes! I met Governor Ronald Reagan while I served as foreign minister. It was during my lecture for the Israel Bonds in California, when Reagan served as the governor of that state. (Slight sarcasm) I recall one of the Israeli journalists who was in the United States wrote: "I cannot understand why Israel's foreign minister would meet with an extreme right leader who has no political future in the United States."

[Question] Are there any Jews among President Reagan's close advisors?

[Answer] I know two men close to Reagan who are Jews: Mr Richard Allen, the head of the National Security Council, a post formerly occupied by Professor Henry Kissinger and Brzezinski, and Professor Pipes, one of the world's leading Sovietologists. While I was in the United States, Mr Allen strongly reprimanded the European countries for not standing up to the Soviet Union, and Professor Pipes made such an anti-communist statement that the State Department had to disavow it. The Reagan government caused me a personal loss by appointing my dear friend Jacob Stein as special White House advisor for Jewish affairs, which forced him to resign his position as chairman of "Association of Friends of Beit Berl" in the United States. (Smiling) He comforted me by saying, don't worry, this resignation may be temporary, since my experience has shown that hardly any of the Jewish advisors to U.S. presidents have lasted too long! There are also several Jews in the State Department in key positions, including Elliott Abrams, in charge of international organization affairs, and Paul Wolfowitz, who works on curbing the arms race. President Reagan has also appointed three Jewish ambassadors--Ted Cummings to Austria, Maxwell Raab to Italy, and John Love to Denmark.

Deep and Probing Talks

[Question] Public opinion in Israel is divided on Labor Party Chairman Shimon Peres' meeting with Morocco's King Hassan and King Husayn's brother. Some see it as an original, brilliant, and daring move, while opposition circles define it as a clear elections maneuver, designed to raise Peres' prestige publicly and in the party. What is your opinion? Were those trips really necessary?

[Answer] (Reflecting) There is no need to exaggerate either way. Meetings between heads of the opposition from the Labor Party and Arab leaders are nothing new. In my opinion the Israeli public should give its blessing to contacts between Israeli and Arab leaders. One can only regret the publicity and I am sure Peres agrees. To the best of my knowledge, Peres told the prime minister and the foreign minister a few months ago that he had an opportunity to meet with the king of Morocco, and both gave him the "green light." The fact that the meeting had to be postponed does not justify the label "scandal" which was affixed to the meeting. I do agree that the Labor Party chairman should have advised the prime minister once again about the rescheduling of the meeting.

[Question] Did you, while serving as foreign minister, deputy prime minister, Israeli ambassador to the United States, and head of our delegation to the UN, ever hold secret meetings with Arab leaders?

[Answer] (Unequivocal) Yes! I had deep and probing talks with heads of Arab states, especially while serving as foreign minister (1966-1974). But I have respected, and I will continue to respect, the principle that such talks cannot be publicized in the absence of an agreement with my Arab interlocutors. When I presented my memoirs to the ministers' committee for approval, I did not even ask for permission to allow me to publicize such talks. I believe that when an Israeli statesman meets with an Arab politician, the Israeli is not risking anything, while the Arab can get into a lot of trouble if the meeting is made known to the public. I continue, by the way, to hold meetings with Arab leaders from the territories and from East Jerusalem and I do not publicize them without their consent.

[Question] Moshe Dayan, former foreign minister in Begin's government and defense minister in the late Golda Meir's government, has published a new book under the label of YEDI'OT AHARONOT's Idanim, titled "Will the Sword Consume Forever?" He gives a great deal of information about meetings with major Arab leaders whom he saw while wearing a disguise. What is your opinion about it? Did they harm Israel's cause, in that Arab leaders may hesitate to meet with Israeli colleagues for fear the word will leak out?

[Answer] (Emphatically) My criticism is not directed at Dayan, but rather at the ministerial committee which approved the publication of the book. It is a fact that Dayan referred the matter to that committee, hence the responsibility lies with the committee, that is, with the government!

[Question] Can you logically explain why the committee authorized the publication of the book?

[Answer] (Suppressing his anger) Ask them!

Gossip and Unfounded Guesses

[Question] The consensus in the Israeli political arena is that former chief of staff and Labor Party secretary general, Hayim Bar-Lev, succeeded in rehabilitating the party. Bar-Lev has said unequivocally that if the Alignment forms the next government, he is only interested in the portfolio of defense, and will not accept any other. And yet we hear lately that Yitzhak Rabin may be willing

to serve in the Peres government if he gets the defense portfolio which was promised unequivocally to Bar-Lev. Does this lead you to believe that the foreign affairs portfolio, which the chairman of the Labor Party promised you so emphatically, is in doubt, and that Peres may give it to someone else?

[Answer] (Resolute and most unequivocal) Hayim Bar-Lev not only rehabilitated the Labor Party since the Yom Kippur War, he is the man who helped the IDF recover from the blow inflicted on it by the Egyptians and the Syrians. As for me, I know beyond a shadow of a doubt that Peres will not go back on his word to his colleagues. (Strongly) In my opinion all this is unfounded gossip and journalistic guesswork.

[Question] Are the rumors true concerning your working to make sure that Bar-Lev becomes minister of defense and that Professor Hayim Ben Shazar becomes minister of finance, and that you see Rabin as member of the political team, and are quite concerned about a new party headed by Moshe Dayan?

[Answer] (1) Shimon Peres, the candidate for prime minister, has to pick his own minister of defense. His decision has to be respected in this regard. (2) The same is true in regard to the candidate of minister of finance. I checked with Ben Shazar at Peres' request, about his membership in the economic team. (3) I support what Peres has said about Rabin's membership in any committee or team of the party for clarifying internal matters, which does in effect exist. (4) I take a dim view of a Dayan party and we should make sure it does not get too many mandates. I don't believe it will get too many.

[Question] Is there a possibility of any contact or cooperation between the Alignment and the new party Dayan is about to establish?

[Answer] (Most emphatic) It is hard to conceive of any cooperation with a party that is founded and headed by a man who states that one of the main goals of his party is to prevent the Alignment from fulfilling its social, economic and political program!

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ALIGNMENT DEFENSE CANDIDATE SEEN AS A MODERATE

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 3 Apr 81 Weekend Supplement pp 8-9

[Article by Tom Segev: "The Man and the Horse"]

[Text] Hayim Bar-Lev ended a meeting in his office which included one or two former ministers, who looked like participants in the television program about Israel's history, Amud Ha'esh, people from the distant past. The years of political exile were not kind to them--they look as if they are ready to do a great deal to come back. Hayim Bar-Lev has been shuttling during the past 4 years between party offices and clubs and between party workers. Helping the party recover has been tedious work, more tedious than his 5 years as minister of commerce and industry. He is hoping to serve soon as minister of defense in Shimon Peres' government. The struggle has already begun in his party for this job when the possibility of Yitzhak Rabin joining the Peres government was suddenly renewed. Rabin is being offered the defense portfolio. After the Yom Kippur War, Bar-Lev had his heart set on that job. Back then, too, it was offered to Rabin.

The latest developments anger him. He is convinced that Peres and Rabin will not be able to work together, but as a loyal secretary general of his party he is not saying it publicly. He is only prepared to say that he would not take another job. Rabin once offered him to be his finance minister, but he refused. He does not want to be Peres' finance minister either. Only defense minister. Those who know him say that he is extremely stubborn. The result of his refusal may mean a few more years of boredom. "Almogi once offered me the job of director of the electric company," he says. His sense of humor is as dry as the leaves of the Cuban cigars he enjoys. He has often been mentioned as one of those leaders who will end up some day as prime minister. No, he does not wish to become prime minister. He says he belongs to the old school of politicians who say they have no political ambitions and there are things they won't do: no passing out candy, no promises, no competing for office. In recent weeks, it seems he is losing some control of the situation. The elections headquarters of the Labor Party are quickly becoming towers of Babel and no one can tell whether they are fighting the Likud or each other. Bar-Lev says the anarchy in the party has been exaggerated, but he is not happy with the situation.

It was 2015 hours. The house on Hayarqon Street was emptying. Staff and workers were going home. In less than an hour the whole country would come to a standstill, and will follow with bated breath the game in Strasbourg. On the

sidewalk outside a woman named Hadasah was waiting for Bar-Lev. She had waited there for hours, until sundown. When he finally came out she clung to his dark blazer's buttons and told him he was the only one who could help her with that accident; everyone else is persecuting her.

Bar-Lev said he would read the documents she thrust into his hands. He would not promise her anything. He seemed more uneasy with her than unwilling. Politicians sometimes appear so helpless when a citizen succeeds in reaching them through the wall of assistants who protect them. Yet Bar-Lev knew how to act. He was neither too courteous nor rude. He was correct. He had time. The elections campaign on this night went into a lull because of the game. This is the first time in months--and probably the last--he has no meeting. This is the right evening to shoot the breeze with him, without looking at the clock. Even if he had not invited me to dinner he would have only watched the game "on and off," as he puts it. "After all," he says, "the only thing that counts is the final score."

By the time we said goodnight, long after midnight, the Makabi Club was already European champion. We were not aware of the crowds celebrating in the streets. It was quiet in Nve Magen. Before retiring for the night Bar-Lev took a look at Mrs Hadasah's papers. Nuisance like hers is the reward of leadership, yet Bar-Lev takes it more seriously than most. He is truly sincere, very human, non-political. If he could help her he would.

A Meeting With Husayn

His first 10 years as a civilian will not earn him a medal. Israeli generals who entered political life have not generally become a success story. Former chiefs of staff Yadin, Dayan, Rabin and Mota Gur, countless former generals from Meir Zore'a to Ezer Weizman, from Meir Amit to Ariel Sharon, were more ambitious than Bar-Lev and their political failure has been proportionate to their ambition. Bar Lev did not have great aspirations, hence no great fall.

When he was added to the government soon after he finished serving as a chief of staff in 1971 without waiting to be elected to the Knesset, his popularity was at its peak. The Mapai leadership wanted to use him to neutralize the growing influence of Moshe Dayan. As a novice minister in Golda Meir's cabinet, always under the great shadow of Pinhas Sapir, he did not shine. He did his job, in his own way, systematically, without flair or imagination. Besides his army experience he brought to the job of commerce and industry minister his MBA from Columbia University. Opinions are divided on his success as minister. Those who compare him to his predecessor, Sapir, say that he failed; those who compare him to his successors, Hurvitz and Pat, say that he succeeded.

His government post interested him less than his previous army one. Not once, he says, did he find himself wasting time as a minister, saying "nay nay nay" in sessions which produced no results. He says it was worse in the Knesset. In the army he used every minute. He found out that during his 4 years as chief of staff, only 4 days without shooting incidents were recorded.

He was at his best during the aftermath of the upset which brought the Likud to power. The Labor Party discovered what his men knew in the army--he knew how to

take defeats. As one who entered political life only a few years before the great fiasco, he was perhaps less hurt than others, whose world crumbled on 17 May. He had part of the blame for the defeat; he headed his party's tired elections staff. In any case, there was no substitute for the calm he displayed during the crisis. Within a few months he proceeded to rebuild, with singular dedication, the party's daily routine.

Someone had to do it. Including the small and even tiny things. No, he did not find it challenging. Everyone respected him. He did not side with any faction, did not express controversial views, did his job like a hired director general, not an elected secretary general. Peres could not have found a more amenable secretary. Bar-Lev remained loyal all the way through. From the outset he gave out the idea of self-promotion.

He says that he first heard about the idea of appointing him secretary general during a visit with Peres, Moshe Shahal, and Yisrael Gat to Rumania. He says Peres himself offered him the job. Yigal Alon supported Peres. Some say this is not quite the way it happened. Alon, according to the other version, pressed for his appointment, while Peres was not too enthusiastic. Both figured that Bar-Lev would remain, as he was before, Alon's man, and would support him when the time came for Alon to make his bid for prime minister. Bar-Lev supported Alon's candidacy for prime minister during the short period between the death of Levi Eshkol and the decision to replace him with Golda Meir. In the first round between Peres and Rabin, it can now be disclosed, he voted for Rabin. At the time he kept his views to himself, without publicly coming out for either camp.

When Alon, before he died, decided to take on Peres, he no longer supported him. Alon did not forgive him. Alon's widow hasn't forgiven him to this day. Bar-Lev says he had good reasons to support Peres, who he said had already proven himself as the party's leader. Why did he fail to back Alon, whom he followed since his days in the Palmah? Bar-Lev won't say why. Out of respect for the dead he would not say why he thought Peres was more suitable. The question, then remains, whether he supported Peres because he knew Alon would not have won. "Anyone who thinks this is the way I am," he says in his monotone which can put you to sleep, "can think whatever he wants to think. Be my guest..." He always makes sure to be in the mainstream of his party. Not deviate to the left or to the right. His colleagues say with amazement that he really seems to believe in his party's position as stated in the platform. "He knows how to present the party's positions with such deep conviction that even I sometimes begin to believe in them," says Yosi Sarid. Some mistakenly consider him a dove. In reality he is a hawk-dove, as befits his position inside the party. His political views are more "square" than his famous slow speech. When he is in high spirits, among friends, he can be extremely entertaining. Yet, his political views have remained the same, as if nothing has happened since the Six-Day War.

One day in the fall of 1968, Bar-Lev met King Husayn in London. The purpose of the meeting was to persuade the king to take action against the terrorists who used to enter Israel through the Jordanian border. The meeting with Husayn, not unlike other meetings the king had with Israeli leaders, was held at the home of a physician on Harley Street. The day before Bar-Lev met at the same place with

Jordanian General Omar Hamesh. Bar-Lev was accompanied, as was the case in all the meetings with Husayn, by the late Ya'akov Herzog. Bar-Lev refuses to talk about those meetings. "Justice Minister Nisim has already warned me," he says curtly. He too, like Dayan, wore a wig for that meeting to hide his identity.

The conversation, which took about 2 hours, was friendly and pleasant. Although it was not the first meeting with Israeli leaders, this time also peace was discussed. Husayn said he could not be the first Arab leader who would sign peace with Israel, unless he got back everything he lost in the war. Bar-Lev told him he would not get back everything. Not Jerusalem. Not the valley. In effect, he offered a territorial compromise. Husayn wanted everything. Bar-Lev reported his meeting to the government. The government reiterated it would give back everything.

Much water has since flowed through the Jordan. Much blood has been spilled on all fronts. Time has worked against Israel. The prolonged occupation of the territories has caused inestimable damage. But Bar-Lev is not sorry about the missed opportunities. Even in return for full peace with Jordan, he says, he is not willing to return to the 4 June 1967 border. Even with a special arrangement in Jerusalem. He continues to believe in a "territorial compromise," speaks of the "Jordanian option," and says, as though he were still waiting for the first telephone call from Husayn, that "we have to extract from the king the maximum security with minimum number of Arabs."

Twice in the past 2 years he became implicated in incidents which even thorough-going doves have been avoiding. In the statement he gave Attorney Elias Khoury to present to the high court of justice, he pointed out that the settlement in Alon Moreh does not contribute to the security of the state. Yes, he knows what took place prior to his meeting with the lawyer of the petitioners from the West Bank, but he does not think they took advantage of him. It may be a mistake to attribute that statement to his purported dovish views. Rather it should be seen as emanating from his "squareness." He was asked whether he thought the settlements contributed to peace, and since he did not think they did he saw no reason why he should say so. He is a professional, not a politician, and he is fair minded. "Justice is justice," he says, "Jew, Arab, it makes no difference." In 1968 he supported Teddy Kolek on allowing the relatives of fallen Jordanian soldiers to erect a monument in Jerusalem to their memory.

Some also attribute to this "squareness" his statement in the Knesset that if Jews did not settle in Hebron at the Hadasah House, the terrorists would not have murdered them. "It happens to be true," he said again last week. "It's a fact!" He recalls he said it because of constant interjections which interrupted his speech. His reading of the original speech manuscript shows that the provocative sentence was prepared beforehand. No, he would not say it today, but the thing is still true, he insists. Before the Yom Kippur War, he said that there would not be peace with Egypt as long as Israel remains at the Suez Canal. Last year he supported the right of the "Peace Now" people to seek support abroad, and was one of the signatories of an ad which stated "Their Way Is Not Ours," condemning the waves of nationalism which swept the country.

Whenever his strategic views clash with political logic he remains as he has always been--a soldier. Two years after signing the peace treaty with Egypt he

still insists that certain parts of the Sinai should have been given up. In 2, 3, or 5 years, he says, we may find out that the Palestinian problem has no solution, and the Egyptians may start another war against Israel. Their strategic advantages in the Sinai may increase their appetite to do it. Is he part of the generation of generals who fought bravely but are not brave enough to contend with peace? He says, perhaps rightfully, that the question is not fair. He has always believed in peace and he still does. Otherwise, he would not have gone to war. War, he says, can also break out in a peace situation.

The Knives In the Drawer

He owes his military career to some degree to Yitzhak Rabin. Shortly after the founding of the state Rabin talked him into changing his intention about leaving the army. The son of thread manufacturer Menahem Brotslavski, who immigrated from Poland to Vienna, where Bar-Lev was born, then to Zagreb, from where he immigrated to Israel at age 15, he was going to quit the service after 7 years in the Palmah. His friends in the Palmah called him "the Spear." The Ashkenazi from Yugoslavia, as he was called, insisted that his men tuck their shirts inside their pants, in a dity manner which was considered all but immoral. The Palmah old timers remember him as a star. His slow speech became famous back then. The story about the tent which burned down before he ordered the fire to be put out is a classic.

With the founding of the state, Bar-Lev wanted to complete what he missed when he studied at Mivne Yisrael—finish high school and study history at the university. Ben Gurion's IDF was not a congenial place for the Palmah veterans, the graduates of the Hashomer Hatzair. Indeed, some of the Mapai officers were promoted before the "leftists." But Rabin along with Uzi Narkis persuaded the 25-year-old commander to extend his service. Some 16 years later, in 1966, Rabin wanted to groom him as the next chief of staff. He recommended him to the post of chief of operations. Levi Eshkol preferred Ezer Weizman. Later on Minister of Defense Weizman would say that if he could pick his successor he would choose Bar-Lev.

In the 24 years he served in the IDF, until he became a minister, he kept extending his term of service by 1, 2, or 3 years at a time. He says that he never considered himself a professional soldier. He was psychologically and professionally ready for civilian life. Dr Meir Pa'il, the historian, says that the Palmah did not produce a better general than Bar-Lev. Pa'il says he was a mediocre chief of staff. Laskov and Rabin were more brilliant. There were few who were more calm and level headed on the battlefield than he. During the Six-Day and the Yom Kippur wars, says Pa'il, he proved himself to be one of the best. When he retired as chief of staff it was pointed out that he was able to figure out what Dayan wanted. Zeev Schiff, the HA'ARETZ military analyst, pointed out at the time his regard for human life and his ability to empathize with the bereaved families.

In the army and in politics he only has one true enemy: he despises Ariel Sharon and Sharon despises him. When they see each other in the Knesset they don't even greet each other. Bar-Lev says that their enmity started the day after the Yom-Kippur War. Someone says that Bar-Lev "figured out" Sharon back in the 1960's and said he could not be trusted. If he ever publishes what he

thinks happened on the southern front beginning on 10 October 1973, he will probably say that Sharon failed in carrying out his assignments and caused his comrades to fail when he did things he was not supposed to do.

Bar-Lev is not interested now in this debate, which may force him to make revelations about the late Dado, his old friend. He says, however, that if the other side starts he will know what to say. It will be a very technical discussion: when and where should the Canal have been crossed, who should have done it. This too can be a very personal debate. Who decided to break the order, who warned whom that the air force planes might bomb the IDF, who ordered to fire whom, who wanted to slap whom, and who deserved to be slapped.

Bar-Lev says he does not bear responsibility for the fiasco of the war. If the line which bore his name had not been thinned out and neglected during the 2 years prior to the war, things would have been quite different. The ones responsible for it were no doubt Sharon, Dado, and Dayan. Yet he was a member of the cabinet at the time. Why didn't he raise hell when his line was being neglected? "They didn't ask me," he says. "I was not invited to any discussion of this matter." He sometimes tends to have a very narrow view of the world, as if he were wearing blinders, like the ones used for the horses he is so fond of.

The Agranat Committee did not invite him to testify either, even though he had requested it. If they had listened to him, he says, they might have reached some different conclusions. He has read the full report of the committee. The public will be quite disappointed when it reads the unpublished part of the report. Not much new information will come to light. In order to avoid the feeling that someone is covering up something, he recommends full disclosure of the report after the elections.

He is said to have nerves of steel. Rabin tells about a certain moment, during a cabinet meeting which was called to discuss the Antebbe crisis: "He looked impassive when he sent the chief of staff a note to ask whether his son, Omer, was among the passengers. The chief of staff nodded yes. Hayim backed the operation unconditionally. As a former chief of staff, he understood the risk better than others," Rabin points out.

His acquaintances mention a certain naivete in his character which keeps surprising them. He had assumed, for instance, that Dayan would not quit the Labor Party, and said so a few weeks before Dayan left. "I was sure he was Labor," Bar-Lev recalled last week, "because he told me so." It was right after Levi Eshkol died, in 1969. Before the party elected Golda Meir for the succession, some proposed to Dayan to go for it. Bar-Lev recalls: "Dayan told me that not all who made the suggestion were members of the Labor Party. I remember his words: 'It is not enough that Ezer Weizman is suggesting it. I belong to Labor and I seek support in Labor.' I was impressed and I believed him. In the meantime we have all grown up."

In time, Bar-Lev's views shifted from the left to the center in socioeconomic matters. He says he is a socialist, and he emphasizes it is different from just a socialist-democrat. A year or 2 ago he attacked the heads of the Likud for their capitalistic views, arguing that such views were contrary to Israeli reality.

He still believes in camaraderie, and was deeply insulted when someone spread the rumor he had been arrested for suspicion of espionage. He was not hurt by the rumor but by the fact that some of his friends tended to believe it.

He has close friends, most of them not in politics, and not all date back to his army days. He goes out with some on Saturday night to the movies, and with others, Galilean types with deep roots, he goes horseback riding, with napaacks, water canteens, and sleeping bags. They sleep in the fields or in ruins. One night the border guard surrounded some ruins on the West Bank where he was staying for the night. They thought he was a terrorist. He drives his own Renault. One should stay away from his path. He is not always sure whether he is in his car or in his airplane.

Sometimes he disappears for a few hours or even for a day. It turns out that he has bought some food somewhere, driven out to the country, and had himself a picnic, looking at the view. His room in the party center is Spartan, as it has been since the time of Golda Meiru. He knows how to fly into a rage when he is provoked. He keeps a set of sharp knives in one of his desk drawers. Sometimes, when he needs to recharge his batteries of unending stoicism, he locks himself in his room and throws knives at the door. When he comes out he looks as fresh as though he has just taken a shower.

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LABOR'S BAR-LEV INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL, SECURITY MATTERS

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[Interview with Hayim Bar-Lev, Labor Party's Knesset member, by Ze'ev Schiff; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] No doubt you have already given thought to how you would like to handle the defense establishment. Can you tell us of any new concepts?

[Answer] I see the present period as the end of one chapter and the beginning of a new one. We have a new political-defense establishment with Egypt--a new border as well as peace. The Eastern Front is not united at this time. The new U.S. administration is opening up new possibilities to us. In addition to these there is the build-up of the Arab countries and of Israel. To these add the economic situation in Israel. All these must be seen in a security framework or context, but I have not seen any signs of that in the actions of the present government. For instance, when mention was made of the first cut-back in the defense budget, proposed by Minister Hurvitz, the defense establishment said that a drastic cut-back could be made, but this should not be done without a situation appraisal. Such an appraisal was not effected. That is also confirmed by the chief of staff, and became public knowledge, and that is something I intend to do. Our appraisal will have implications on the defense budget, on the establishment of our forces, on the directions in which we build them up, and so on. I am already going into this appraisal on my own, with the help of a group of serious and objective people.

[Question] Who are the people helping you in this?

[Answer] All of them are familiar with the issue; some at first hand. I myself dealt with the defense budget in the defense and foreign affairs committee, and others among them have only recently left the IDF, such as former chief of staff Mordekhay Gur and General Shlomo Gazit. Others left the IDF earlier on but are linked to the defense/security issues, like former director-general Prof Pinhas Sussman, Gen 'Amon Horev of the Technion, Gen Yeshazyahu Gavish and Mordekey Had. We also have Arabists on the team and are helped by institutes such as the Center for Strategic Research headed by Gen Aharon Yariv.

[Question] What committees have you formed in the context of these preparations?

[Answer] There is, for example, the defense and arms committee; another committee deals with policy in the territories. Yet another committee deals with our

defense concept and its implications on our establishment of forces, and another committee still is handling developments on the nuclear issue in the Middle East.

[Question] Do you intend to appoint a deputy defense minister if the Alignment comes into power?

[Answer] You are asking me to tailor other men's suits for them. However, I did consult others on this question and that is the general inclination. But let us wait and decide after the elections are over.

[Question] You have criticized the government's approach to the last defense budget. What is your own approach regarding this matter, given the existing economic situation?

[Answer] My criticism refers to two issues: One, it is impossible to slash the defense budget simply by deciding on a sum and confronting the defense establishment with it and telling them to work things out. The situation has to be analyzed, a multi-year plan prepared and so on. By using the method opted for by the present government several things have happened: the cut-back has not been put into effect, or alternatively vital matters are affected instead of cutting back in those domains where this is really called for. My second criticism referred to the budget per se.

[Question] Knesset member Moshe Dayan said, or someone said it in his name, that because of the difficulty that exists regarding the balance of forces and the quality gap in conventional spheres, an open nuclear strategy should be envisaged, which would make substantial reductions possible in the army. Do you agree with that?

[Answer] I am familiar with this thesis and do not accept it. We can under no circumstances conclude from the nuclear deterrent between the blocs that this would also work in our case. The major blocs also have wars and the nuclear arsenal remains a potential force, not put to practical use. We cannot pin our hopes on the possibility of a nuclear deterrent. Our situation is special from the aspect of targets in a war because we cannot resolve the dispute with the Arabs by war. Therefore we need a conventional force capable of constituting an effective deterrent. There is no such thing as a total deterrent. If war breaks out, this force will protect what there is and utilize situations and successes.

[TA241533] [Question] Am I to understand from this that you are also opposed to the concept of overt nuclear deterrence?

[Answer] When we are dealing with elements such as Libya and terrorist Iraq there is no all-out deterrent, overt or otherwise. War is initiated when there are motives for it and when the price one has to pay seems bearable. In our case this formula cannot be carried to the very end. The motives exist and the price too can be very high but one cannot conclude from this that the other party may not take steps of war. If the other side were completely rational then we could set a price that it could not meet and end matters that way, perhaps. But I do not think we can rely on their being rational. I don't say that of all of them--Jordan, for instance--has learned its lesson and drawn its conclusions.

[Question] Do you believe that the entrance into Jordan or Iraqi forces would be a *Causa Belli*?

[Answer] It would change things. The proximity to the border and the military strength are important factors. At the moment this is not feasible, but in principle it would change the situation. Jordan and Syria realize that and if they know what is good for them they will not let it come to that.

[Question] You made a sworn declaration to the Supreme Court regarding a settlement in Samaria. Why?

[Answer] I was asked to, I did not have to. But I thought that what the government was doing was wrong, just as did the court. The government stated that the seizure of land on that site had been made for security purposes. The way I saw it that was not so. Had it been a case of the court in the Hague, I would not have done what I did. But this was an issue before our own Supreme Court.

[Question] Are you against settlements altogether?

[Answer] I am against settlements. But just a minute--let me say what I am for. I am for settlements along our border regions, including the Jordan Valley. In these areas I see the need not only for the IDF but for civilian settlements integrated in a military alignment; and this will have a two-fold defense duty; where ongoing security is concerned, each settlement in the Jordan Valley closes off a sector of so many kilometers. If there should be a war, the settlements are integrated in the battle deployment on the front line, as fortifying zones. It is a good thing that since the Yom Kippur War they have been equipped with heavier arms such as antitank weapons as is the case in the Jordan Valley and on the Golan. Those settlements that are a long way away from the confrontation line, as we understand it, have no role to play in ongoing security by closing off sectors, nor in the event of a general conflagration on the confrontation line.

[Question] How can settlements exist when they maintain and guard emergency depots or vital road junctions and axes in regions with a hostile population?

[Answer] Every Jew, no matter where he is, possesses a certain security value, even in Tel Aviv. To guard an emergency supply depot you do not have to establish a settlement; and the same applies to the guarding of a road junction. This can be done more cheaply and more effectively by the army. I accept the Gush Emunim thesis that asserts that settlements are here because this is the land of our forefathers--not because they are vital to our security. The size of their security contribution is a subject for argument. There is also a security price to be paid since the young people are pinned down to that specific location at a time of war, and it is also a weapon, as there are military operations to be carried out, road junctions to be checked out, buses to be escorted, and the like.

[Question] Is this your attitude to Qiryat Arba' as well?

[Answer] Yes! Qiryat Arba' was set up as an Israeli settlement next to Hebron, but not for security reasons. It is true that it makes a security contribution

as well, but there is also a security price that should be considered. Which of the two outweighs the other? I do not know.

[Question] You said you are looking into the policy in the territories? What does not seem right to you?

[Answer] The relations between the inhabitants of the territories and Israel can be better and there were periods with better relations in the past. We need a policy that will not create tensions and undermine our credibility. We need a policy that will dissipate tensions and create credibility.

[Question] Is this not too general?

[Answer] I will give you an example: The East Jerusalem Electric Corporation for one. One policy wants it annexed to our Energy Ministry while according to another the Arabs should continue to own the corporation. We also have the problems of scheduling [the Muslim and Jewish] prayers in the Makhpela Cave and the attitude toward West Bank mayors with whom meetings have not been held for a long time.

[Question] What is your opinion of Dayan's proposal for a unilateral withdrawal and a unilateral implementation of autonomy?

[Answer] I do not believe that unilateral implementation of autonomy can prevent pro-PLO developments in the territories. Suppose that we hold onto the Jordan Valley, Gush 'Ezyon and vital military installations as well as safeguarding the settlements and say that all the rest does not interest us. There will be developments in the direction of the PLO and total anarchy may come to prevail. Today it is Israel that rules the territories while the PLO is active in the underground. If Israel leaves, the PLO will emerge out of the underground. We can implement autonomy only with a Jordanian partner. Israel is no alternative to the PLO. If Jordan too exists in the area, then the alternative will be between the PLO and Jordan.

[Question] And if Jordan refuses [to conduct negotiations]?

[Answer] In this case, the autonomy cannot be implemented. Without Jordan I do not see how this is possible. To make a unilateral move means to bring the PLO in.

[TA241542] [Question] What, in your opinion, should Israel's commitment to the Christians in northern Lebanon be?

[Answer] There are many ways to aid them. Our motives are both practical and moral. One should aid them on the level and with means that will also serve Israeli interests and no possible method should be excluded. I am not saying one should enter war, although in extreme situations I cannot exclude any kind of move. It will be a mistake to assume that the situation of the Christians in the north has no implications for their brethren in the south. What baffles me is that the Christians in the north did not make any public comment on the moral and other support they receive from Israel. The Christians in the south did do so; the Christians in the north keep quiet on this matter and I do not

think that is right. Furthermore, I do not believe we can treat the matter as if it were not related to us.

[Question] Will you support the Lavi aircraft project?

[Answer] This is a subject we have started to check thoroughly from the very beginning. My opinion at this stage is that we can develop an aircraft that will not be the final word in 10 years' time but will be a plane of service for us at the end of the 1980's and in the 1990's. The development should be carried out with a U.S. company that will also take part in financing the development and in finding markets. This will include the development of an engine for such a plane. If so, I will be all for it. However, if talk is of the most advanced aircraft, this is an effort that the Israeli economy cannot bear and there is no need for this either.

[Question] What do you think about the Merkava tank?

[Answer] This is a good tank and we should continue to equip ourselves with it. About 14 years ago I thought that the manufacture of an armored personnel carrier should take first priority. I said then that we should not enter the issue of manufacturing a tank, that this issue could wait. Calculations have shown that we need thousands of armored personnel carriers and that their manufacture could have been economically worthwhile.

[Question] Will the friendship between Saudi Arabia and the United States provide it with immunity in case of war, if Saudi Arabia uses all the modern arms she will receive including the AWACS planes?

[Answer] Saudi Arabia has turned into a storehouse of modern arms. No Saudi guarantees or promises will prevent this tank [as published] from participating in war against us. Saudi Arabia will not withstand the pressure of extremist countries to let them have planes, tanks and intelligence information. It is very easy to collect intelligence information with the AWACS planes and transmit them to other Arab countries. We should try to prevent the Saudis from getting the planes. The Israeli Government has handled the issue of the F-15 and the equipment for it in an idle manner. It expressed only weak opposition to it. Regarding the AWACS--the government has awakened and there is still a chance. It is clear that we should take into account the possibility that Saudi Arabia will participate in a war, if one erupts, in one way or another. It will be a mistake to think that everything will go on as usual. The United States has other friends in the region and they have learned that if they do not use restraint toward Israel in time of war, Israel then takes care to maintain its interest. In the Six-Day War Israel had to act against Jordan since Jordan did not remain passive. Jordan was hit despite the fact it was equipped with U.S. arms and was Washington's friend. Today, too, Israel should examine which forces are liable to take part in a war against it and where they are stationed, and Israel should act only according to its interests. Israel cannot afford that additional planes, or AWACS planes, will operate against it uninterruptedly due to the relations of the country concerned with the United States.

MAPAM'S KNESSET LIST MEMBERS ELECTED

TA031941 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 3 May 81

[Text] In the afternoon MAPAM's center elected the party's Knesset candidates that will be incorporated into the Alignment's Knesset list. The MAPAM list will be headed by MAPAM Secretary General Victor Shem-tov who gained a majority of 90 percent in the center. He is followed on the list by Dov Zakin, Ya'ir Tzaban, Eli'ezer Granot, Muhammad Watad, Imri Ron and Naftali Feder.

CS0: 4805/200c-F

MAPAM PICKS ITS MINISTERIAL CANDIDATES

TA151900 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] MAPAM has picked its candidates to fill ministerial posts, if the Alignment wins the elections. Haya Grossman will be a candidate as the representative of the Kibbutz Ha'Artzi movement; and Naftali Ben-Moshe, a member of the executive, will represent MAPAM's urban sector. Ben-Moshe ran against Eli'ezer Ronen and defeated him in the vote.

CSO: 4805/200c-F

EBAN ESTABLISHES POLITICAL PLANNING TEAM

TA130936 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 13 Apr 81 p 2

[Article by A. Qinarti: "Eban Has Established a 'Team' for Political Planning in the Labor Party"]

[Excerpt] A "political planning team" to work with Abba Eban, the Alignment's candidate for the post of foreign minister, has been established over the last few days and its members are: Hayim Herzog, Prof Shlomo Avineri, Yosef Teqo'a, Prof Moshe Ma'oz, Mikha Harish, Asher Ben-Natan and others.

The team combines both academic personnel and people who have accumulated political experience in diplomatic posts. The team will discuss Israeli foreign policy with its aspects and problems "to make it possible to implement the Alignment's plans for the advancement of peace in the spirit of the Camp David Agreements, through a Jordanian-Palestinian solution."

CSO: 4805/200c-F

BRIEFS

RABIN GROUP REPRESENTATION--In a consultation among the heads of the Rabin group it was decided yesterday, that the group will insist on its share (30 percent) in the list of candidates of the Labor Party for the Knesset. As of the middle of next month 12 Knesset members of the party will have to pass the 60 percent barrier in the party center, including 2 of the Rabin camp--Rabin himself and Orah Namir. The constitution committee of the party decided yesterday that another member of the group, Jacque Amir as well as Hayim Zadok do not have to pass the barrier, since they did not serve a full term. Shimon Peres intends to meet with Rabin in order to form a small political and security team, which will include Rabin. The team will consist of 10-12 members, including Abba Eban, Hayim Bar-Lev, Rabin, Israel Galili, Hayim Zadok, Mota Gur, Simha Dinitz, Hayim Herzog, and MAPAM Secretary General Victor Shem-Tov. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 21 Mar 81 p 4] 9565

MAPAM SLATE--MAPAM center decided yesterday on the mode of choosing MAPAM candidates for the Alignment list for the next Knesset. The list will be headed by Victor Shem-Tov, MAPAM's secretary general, and then a kibbutz and a city representative alternately. The 5th and 11th places are reserved for Arabs, and the 6th or 7th for a woman. The candidates will be chosen from three areas--city, kibbutz, and the Arab community, and the placing on the list will be decided by secret ballot in the party's center. The candidates for ministers in the Alignment government will not be candidates for the Knesset. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 21 Mar 81 p 4] 9565

CSO: 4805/190b

MANY PARTIES WOO ARAB VOTE

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 29 Mar 81 p 10

[Article by 'Atallah Mansur: "The Struggle for the Arab Vote"]

[Text] The market streets in Nazareth, not unlike Rasco Center in Natzrat Ilit (Jewish Nazareth), are covered with torn posters of the various parties which have campaigned for the Histadrut elections. Yet while the posters directed at Hebrew readers try to outdo each other with promises of developing and populating the Galilee, of concern for employment and salary raises, the Arab posters emphasize political topics. The Alignment people did not excel this time in disseminating written material, and one of their local workers told me it was just as well. He pointed out that, frankly, the posters are printed in Tel Aviv and their content is picked by people who are lightyears removed from Nazareth. He showed me a few days old newspaper clippings in which Alignment people "warned" that "a vote for RAKAH (Israeli communist party) is a vote for the Likud."

And yet, my interlocutor knocks each day on dozens of doors and asks the residents to vote "Emet" in the coming elections for the Nazareth workers' council and the Histadrut convention. He is making every effort to avoid getting into political arguments with his hosts. He is asking for their vote on the basis of what he and his Alignment colleagues in Nazareth have done for the local residents. He has one answer for the political questions: in 3 months we will all have the opportunity to express our political opinion. Right now the voters in Nazareth have two alternatives: to hand the workers' council over to RAKAH, or to leave it under the Alignment's control. Mr Salam Jubran, HADASH's (the communist Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) candidate for secretary of the Nazareth workers' council, may be able to organize a song festival, but it is doubtful whether he will be more successful than George Sa'ad, the present secretary, in maintaining substantive ties with the Histadrut leadership.

The Vying for PLO Favors

The existence of marginal unemployment, on one hand, and the fact that the voters in the elections for the Histadrut among Arab citizens are older than the voters for the Knesset (and generally do not include self-employed professionals and radical youth) give a good chance to the Alignment people to be reelected for administrative positions in the workers' council without having to commit themselves politically. This infuriates the RAKAH people, who say in their propaganda that, "How can it be that in Nazareth, a bastion of the Front (Democratic

Front for Peace and Equality), the workers' council be dominated by a group of hired hands without self-respect?" Mr Salim al-Qasim, an old RAKAH trade union worker, puts it more bluntly: "The choice between the Likud and the Alignment is like the choice between Dir Yassin massacre and 'Qasim."

But the RAKAH line is not limited to presenting the opponent's position in a negative light. RAKAH leaders have been trying for several months to spread the slogan in the Arab community that RAKAH supports the PLO, and that the PLO urges Israeli Arabs to vote for RAKAH. At the memorial service 40 days after the death of member of Knesset Hana Moise, last week, member of Knesset Tufik Ziad, mayor of Nazareth, repeated this slogan. In every issue of AL-ITTIHAD, RAKAH's newspaper, the slogan is repeated, in quoting PLO releases from Beirut which speak favorably about the RAKAH convention or attribute pro-RAKAH statements to leftist leaders of the PLO.

Communist party propagandists hope to gain votes among Arabs in the elections for the Histadrut through PLO endorsement, but it is already clear at this stage that there are those who vie with RAKAH for this "distinction." Shellie people are distributing among Arab voters copies of a cable received at the convention of "The Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace" from 'Azam Sartawi, senior advisor of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. At the same time, such groups as "Sons of the Village" and the "Progressive National Movement" oppose participation in the elections to the Knesset.

Dr Kalil Nahleh, chairman of the Organization of Arab Academicians in the United States, has distributed this week through the mail a collection of his essays in which he calls for political action at the municipal level to create Arab representation in Israel outside the Knesset. Mr Mansur Kardush, a leader of the Al-Sawt circle in Nazareth (and founder of AL ARD), expressed a similar view at the memorial service for member of Knesset Hanah Moise at Kfar Ramah. No doubt before the elections to the Knesset we shall hear a statement from a PLO leader who will question the wisdom of Arabs voting for the Knesset. In other words, those who lean toward the PLO are competing for the vote such leaning can provide, and at the same time the PLO is divided on what is best for the Arabs in Israel. But who says that Israeli Arabs listen to the PLO?

It seems that in every election since the beginning of the 1960's various leaders in neighboring Arab countries have been trying to tell Arab voters to support parties which took part in the elections. This was tried mainly by Nasser's regime, as well as by the Syrians and the PLO itself. In the past the PLO was in favor of AL ARD, and later it backed RAKAH. Yet RAKAH only received half of the Arab vote, despite the events of the "Earth Day" 5 years ago, and the refusal of the Labor Party to recognize the demographic and cultural change which took place among Israeli Arabs (and the refusal of the agricultural center, Tnuvah, Solel Boneh, Hamashbir, the workers' organization, and the economic bodies of the Histadrut as a whole to integrate Arab members).

After the Likud's rise to power 4 years ago the leaders of the Alignment turned to the Arab voters and asked them to help stop the Likud. The Arabs responded to the call, and gave the Alignment a percentage of their votes. Mr Yeruham Meshel made a "commitment" on several occasions to repay Arab voters. Did he

keep his promise? He appointed two Arabs to the organizing committee (George Sa'ad of Nazareth and Nawwaf Maslaha of Kfar Qar'a. MAPAM appointed a third member, Yusuf Kamia of Haifa). The Arab section, which the Histadrut convention decided to do away with in order to integrate the Arab members in the Histadrut, was "discontinued," and its staff was transferred to an "integration" section still headed by Ya'akov Kohen, who for years has headed the Arab section. At the same time an "Arab section" was set up in the workers' organization with two Arab members, but to this day no project has been established in the Arab community through the initiative or with the participation of the workers' organization.

A "Dignitaries" Party

In the political-partisan arena as well the Labor Party argues that it has integrated the Arab members and that it is planning (still!) to open party offices in Arab communities. In order to carry out these plans the party asked the Arabs to register and some 18,000 Arabs joined the Labor Party and elected delegates to the convention and members to the party's central committee. But what happens in reality? In the elections for the Nazareth branch of the party the poll committee members got all the votes. The count of the votes was done behind closed doors with only the members of the poll committee present. A dozen candidates only got one vote or no votes at all, and did not bother to vote or to be present at the voting. Thus, the party found itself voting for the party's central committee Mr Sayf al-Din Zuwaybi, who is related to this party and has been a member of Knesset almost without interruption since the birth of the state, and his wife Mrs An'am Zuwaybi, as well as George Sa'ad and Elias Talhami, who have been associated with this party for decades.

This did not happen because of conservatism or lack of young people. In the list of Arab members of the Labor Party I saw dozens of names of young academicians, engineers, administrators and doctors. But the party machine, used to "dignitaries," did everything within its power to continue with the tradition which insures its control, at the cost of petrifying the party branches. Thus the Arabs in the Labor Party decided to put Mr Ya'akov Kohen at the head of the propaganda staff for the Histadrut elections, and Mr Ha'anan Kohen at the head of the propaganda staff for the Knesset elections. In order to round out this theater of the absurd, Mr Sayf al-Din Zuwaybi (apparently the only one who is a member of the party's central committee along with his wife) announced that he intends to support the "United Arab List" in the elections for the Knesset. He was elected to the present Knesset as part of this party (and resigned in favor of Shaykh Hamad Abu Rabi'a who was murdered).

Mr Zuwaybi assures us that at this point his party will be independent, headed by young academicians, but no one discounts the possibility that his statements are the opening round for negotiations with Labor Party leaders who will promise him (or his wife) a realistic place in their list for the Knesset. Member of Knesset Jabar Ma'ali also plans to run for the Knesset, and the Bedouins also wish to be represented. Shaykh Nayif Halabi, head of the local council of Dalifat of Carmel, Mr Hassan Mail of Um al Fahm, Gili Maslaha of Kfar Qar'a, Jamil Shalhou of Haifa, are among those who wish to enter the Knesset through the Labor Party or through a party supported by it. MAPAM has an even longer list of candidates who compete for the hearts of the Jewish party workers.

Yet MAPAM's party workers, not unlike their colleagues in the Labor Party, do not find time for their potential voters. The experience of recent months has taught them that the Labor Party's decision to integrate the Arab citizens, and to establish branches which will elect their representatives, is not worth the paper it is written on, and that those who aspire to get elected to the Knesset have to prove their ability by first influencing their own party machine. The main concern at this time is that by the time the Jewish party workers will come to terms with the situation, their Arab candidates will not have time to turn to the Arab voters.

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DAYAN PARTY SEEN LACKING COHESION

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Apr 81 p 11

[Article by A. Schweitzer: "Dayan and Those Who Follow TELEM"]

[Text] Both the strength and the weakness of the new TELEM party, the formation of which was announced by Moshe Dayan last Saturday, are Dayan himself as compared to his partners--a comparison between a slice of history and ordinary Jews, which can only create an imbalance, since the ways of the great man are not the ways of ordinary mortals. The best example is RAFI 2 (the national list) which ran for the Seventh Knesset in 1969: Ben-Gurion dragged along three members of Knesset whom he forsook almost immediately. His patience did not last much longer.

It is possible, though it needs to be proven, that those who joined Dayan could have gotten several mandates on their own. Such distinguished representatives of the middle class have a natural body of voters. Now that there is no more Progressive Party and the Liberal Party is an advanced stage of liquidation, there is room for this new party in a social sense. It should not bother anyone that it includes the policeman who was fired because of his uncompromising fight against organized crime, and the attorney of Betzael Mizrahi, or DASH doves along with a hawk like Ben-Porat. Politics, according to the English, makes strange bed fellows.

The same applies to Dayan himself. There is no doubt that if he ran as a one-man party he would be elected with votes to spare, and would be able to voice his opinion in the Knesset on all his favorite national subjects. But will the unequal partners get more together than they would have gotten separately? One may raise the question.

The public may be burdened with inflation, yet TELEM is cut from the same piece of cloth as was RAFI, both RAFI 1 and RAFI 2, and even more so DASH. The fact that it has strong members does not make it strong. The strength of a political body depends on the number of its voters only initially. It then has to prove its cohesion, the unity among its members. The unity is institutional--parties with a stable organization and hierarchy can last when others disintegrate. In addition, parties need internal common interests. One need not read Dayan's platform to know that his candidates are looking in 10 different directions. If his were the first attempt of its kind, people might have overlooked the amorphous nature of his group. But the experience of RAFI 1, RAFI 2 and DASH is too recent to be forgotten by 30 June.

The program, then, remains, as the only cement. Yet not only could Dayan's partner belong--and some did--to other parties, the program itself could be offered by another party, including the Likud and the Alignment. The changes necessary to adopt this program to the needs of others are not substantive, and, besides, there is no great light bursting out of Dayan's program. Anyone who respects Dayan unconditionally, or to some extent also his partners, knows that their intention was not to form a protest movement, which attracts those who are simply not satisfied with the state of affairs. It is safe to assume that protesters will act accordingly.

The only hope left is that the organizers of TELEM will attract the irrational Israeli voter, who gave two mandates to Flatto-Sharon and 15 to DASH. It will take time to find out what has prompted the meticulous and serious minded Dayan, for the first time in his political life, to head a political movement which only has one apparent *raison d'etre*, namely, that the Israeli voter once more will prove his irrationality.

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DAYAN'S SOCIOECONOMIC PLAN ANALYZED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 12 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Shlomo Aharonson: "The Innovation in Dayan's Plan--A Recipe for Economic Recovery"]

[Text] Following Mr Moshe Dayan's demand which was presented as a proposal for discussion at the Bamah meeting last Friday, that the government and the 10th Knesset set priorities in security matters, that the conventional arms race against Arab states be stopped, before it may destroy our economy and our society, the meeting was presented with a socioeconomic plan as well: We request that we be allowed to influence other parties in demanding that the government and the 10th Knesset set priorities in security matters; that the government act vigorously in renewing economic growth by reducing its involvement in the economy, channeling the economy towards industry and modern agriculture, increasingly deriving its income from export and from involvement in the gigantic markets of Europe and America. We propose a combined program with security, economic and the social aspects bound together, in which security objectives are combined with socioeconomic needs, and in which the social aspect is not divorced from the expected economic growth. In the area of security, then, we aim for upgrading the IDF, while refusing to continue the arms race at its present quantitative level. In the economic field the main solution is economic growth and increased export. There is no contradiction between increased growth and controlled transition to export economy, and the welfare of the individual. Production will be increased in the following way:

Restraining excessive government involvement in the economy, which has caused government expenses to have grown in total disproportion to the growth of the economy itself.

Investments, including those of international companies and Jewish capital in the economy, and the channelling of those investments by the government for export production. Attracting investments in preferred industries through giving special incentive to companies in preferred industry to raise capital in the stock market, giving investors an incentive for long periods.

Giving similar incentive to investments in infrastructure, such as paving toll roads, drilling for oil, using atomic energy for peace, etc. Such incentive will be selective, and will be denied investments which do not satisfy national priorities. Yet the moment such incentive is given, it must not be bogged down

in bureaucratic mire, which is hampering investors today and forces them to leave the country, and there will be room for profit for investors in a legitimate way.

Substantive tax cuts, which will meet the necessary cuts in the budget in reducing government involvement in the economy.

Controlled liberalization of import, in order to lower the prices of products produced today in Israel at unrealistic cost, in order to reroute Israeli industries for export production.

Government aid to competitive export economy must be sophisticated and selective. The government cannot help export only by giving credit and in channeling investments, but also by removing protectionist barriers, while protecting Israeli currency and restraining inflation by decreasing its involvement in the economy; by reducing the burden of taxation and restraining importers should they try to raise prices of products which will now flow freely into the country, as is the case in the European Common Market.

The growing integration of Israel in the European market, according to agreements which already exist between Israel and Brussels, while using the advantages for industrial export, which the Common Market has already granted Israel. This integration will enable us to form part of a market of 350 million buyers, which has room for Israeli specialization in many areas and a great advantage to the low Israeli salary, in foreign currency, provided it is accompanied by a proper rate of output.

The Meaning of the Plan

This plan, if adopted officially by Mr Dayan's party, will indeed place it in the center--between the Alignment and the Likud--and will give it legitimacy as a new force, which has a message also in socioeconomic matters. It will thus add a new powerful dimension to the arena of tired traditional parties, lacking in initiative. Here too--as in the political domain--the large parties will not be able to turn the new party into new DASH under a new name, since we are no longer dealing with Mr Yigael Yadin and his lieutenants.

According to the proponents of this new socioeconomic plan, the new plan has real solutions which have been tested and proven with great success in France, and which have contributed to strengthen complicated and corrupt Italy, with problems more serious than ours, on the surface. It stands in contrast to the Alignment platform and the maneuvers of Aridor. The Alignment is torn from within not only in matters of security and in the major issues of foreign policy, but also in socioeconomic matters, and the problems of Mr Levinson show that we are dealing with a rusty system which is so clogged up that it cannot achieve any new breakthrough.

The Alignment draws its power mainly from the large workers' committees, and from its positions of power in the public economy and the services, which have lived off the state, and can no longer be supported by it as was the case in the past. On the other hand, the Alignment is wooing the lower classes and its present platform makes promises about widening the base of the welfare state, including

discrimination in favor of Oriental Jews. This American import of the concept of "welfare" and social integration is problematic in the United States proper. People there argue that the underlying tenets of an unlimited welfare state have increased the dependency of the individual on the state, have not integrated him into a society, and have worsened his expectations and the pressure of a growing number of groups on the government, threatening to strangle it. The individual should have instead learned how to fend for himself first and develop a sense of self-worth and achievement. The Alignment does not think in terms of the duties of the individual toward society, but rather of a growing commitment of the state toward the individual, in an era of inadequate resources, of security problems, and growing dependency on the United States. Since the only remedy of the Alignment to the situation is intervention and exclusive responsibility of the government for the economy and the society, Mr Peres and his colleagues are creating huge expectations and demands of "it is coming to me," which have plagued us for years, and which cannot be fulfilled. Moreover, Peres is not able to make difficult decisions which flow from his promises, such as cutting the defense budget.

Hence, the Alignment leadership is creating expectations commensurate with the size of the ensuing disappointment. This is a psychopolitical matter of great significance, which the late Mr Eshkol experienced, during the first slow-down: An Israel which promises too much without delivering disappoints its citizens more than any other country.

The French Example

The Likud is similarly stuck between its liberal wing with its antiquated views, which started the economic revolution and did not follow it up, and the populist wing, which tried "to do right by the people" by offering color TV, subsidies, and the destruction of the tax reform, without properly cutting the government budget. The program which was presented to Bamah does not in any way propose to do away with the welfare state, rather, as Minister Israel Katz pointed out, it proposes improving on it. The program offers combining--in the way France and West Germany have done--the economy with a continued commitment to underprivileged groups with a view to making them self-sufficient.

Yet the main way for 3 million Jews to develop their capabilities and their sense of competition, the will to improve their standard of living, to give expression to their uniqueness and pride, is by creating a controlled competitive structure. The pressure of foreign products, of production for export and increased productivity will pay off in view of the expected profit. Export is not simply a matter of saturating the industrialists with government funds, as Mr Levinson intends to do, without knowing where he will get the money for the costly and contradicting commitments, which are found in abundance in his own party's platform. Export depends on controlled competitive imported goods, tax cuts, making use of the advantage of Israeli low salaries, of the imagination and the Jewish competitive talent abroad, beyond the confines of the protected, small Israeli market.

Export is the result of less bureaucracy, less government--not a government in which each minister pulls in his own direction, and of which the head is not a man of great decisions. Mr Peres will have to be forced to make decisions, and he will let others force him.

Export is the result of transferring the economic gain from the hands of leaders, like Mr Haim Barlev, who used to defend, for political reasons, small industries which produced expensive items instead of importing them cheaply, according to the laws of supply and demand of the international market, within the framework of the trade agreements of which we have not taken advantage in our dealing with the European Common Market. We have matured at this stage sufficiently to join this game successfully. Export is the result of new thinking regarding the set of priorities in matters of security, as Mr Dayan has proposed, of preserving the Camp David Accords and expanding them. It will not be possible to achieve all the national goals which both the Alignment and the Likud promised their voters. The result will be that not even one goal will be achieved properly.

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DAYAN'S MILITARY PLANS ANALYZED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 11 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Shlomo Aharonson: "The Innovation in Dayan's Plan--The End of Conventional Arms Race"]

[Text] The commotion around the personality and the political moves of Mr Moshe Dayan overlooked things which were said in the outline of the discussion which was brought to the Bamah meeting over the weekend. Concerning Mr Dayan's opinion in regard to security it was stated: "Israel needs to invest in the area of security within the limits of its capabilities. Our objective is not a conventional balance of power with all the Arab countries, since we do not have access to their resources, or control over their motives and their armament plans. We must, therefore, emphasize the quality of the IDF, and not be dragged into an arms race which may destroy our economy, without insuring our security. Original IDF solutions and quality can insure our advantage over Arab quantity, and not the present attempt to compete with our opponents quantitatively."

The Security Dilemma

In the above paragraph Mr Dayan expressed a clear and consistent opinion in a matter which will become decisive during the next 4 years: Should we continue with a conventional arms race, uncontrolled, with all Arab states from Iraq to South Yemen, and to maintain in the future a fixed ratio of tanks, troop carriers and artillery, to match them in our military might--and to pay the price in an economic-social way, the price of dependency on the United States and all the other expenses of this demented race, or look for another solution? In the outline presented to Bamah, Dayan says that the present quantitative race should not continue. Unlike the two large parties, which began this race and have continued it, he is asking for a national order of priorities, and a broader concept of security--not only in terms of tanks and guns, but in terms of nuclear option, of economic strength, of a modern economy producing for export; this, in spite of the peace agreement with Egypt, which must be maintained and broadened. Anyone who looks for political motives on Mr Dayan's part, must recognize that he attributes supreme importance to the Camp David Accords, and he is not sure that both the Alignment and the Likud will be able to preserve it. Dayan's platform is therefore a combined package, of preserving and expanding the peace accords during the next 4 years, including real autonomy for the Arabs in the territories, along with restraining the conventional arms race and shifting

economic emphasis to export dramatically, in a way similar to the reform which took place in France during the 1950's, using similar methods.

The security dilemma of the Alignment and the Likud is connected with a comprehensive security concept as well as the political and economic ability to carry it out. Some say that Mr Shimon Peres is aware of the need for national priorities, and not unlike Dayan--from whom he borrowed in the recent past most of his views--he has an interest in expanding the nuclear option of Israel as a basic component of its security. Dayan and Peres therefore could cooperate in this matter. Apparently, the chairman of the Labor Party is not bound by concepts of tanks and guns exclusively, and of strategic areas only, which in the eyes of his senior partners of the former national left of the HAHDUT HA'AVODAH are the only tool for Israel's defense; the latter have a strategic consideration, anti-nuclear, sectarian and personal, vis-a-vis Moshe Dayan and David Ben-Gurion in this regard. In this respect Mr Peres is not properly represented in public by the dovish left of the Labor Party headed by Mr Yosi Sarid. These people, carrying on a tradition of Moshe Sharet and Pinhas Sapir, never considered the nuclear option as an important tool to secure Israel's integrity and to increase its political bargaining power. Their thinking is historical-evolutionary, as if the historical forces at work in the world and the Middle East will propel us to the 1967 borders whether we choose to or not, and that we will have to accept a Palestinian state. This is a deterministic concept, which is not popular in Israel, nor is it Mr Peres' favorite view.

Transport Secretary Peres Was Not Able To Decide

The Labor Party is therefore torn into four big pieces: the dovish left which does not identify with the Nationalist left of the Kibbutz Hameuhad, and the hawkish right of Amos Hadar which does not identify with Mr Peres himself and leaders like Hayim Zadok. Security people who were close to the Labor Party argue that there will be no escaping a substantive cut in the forces of the IDF, if the Alignment wishes to impose its method on the economy. They greatly doubt the political capability and the will of Mr Peres to do this, and use it to explain the hesitations and the struggle of Mr Ya'akov Levinson on his way to the Treasury. The way Minister of Transport Peres dealt with the Yehoshua Peretz disturbances in Ashdod and his evasion of supporting Mr Hayim Laskov at that time, did not point to decision making ability.

I do not know whether it is necessary to cut the conventional defense system, or to refrain from its present expansion. But it seems that the negotiations on the autonomy and not the "Jordanian option," or the "territorial compromise," which are not mentioned in the peace accords, but rather the autonomy for the Arabs in the territories as stated in the Camp David Accords, will help give the IDF advanced weapons, if we'll be able to tie the political negotiations to the weapons which are presently being given to the Arabs and the demand for political and military-monetary compensation. This can be done in the 10th Knesset and this is what we ought to concentrate on.

Such negotiations do not appear in the Alignment platform, and it is doubtful whether Mr Peres will be able to conduct them, considering his security concepts and geostrategic concept which are at odds among the factions of his party. The

left of his party talks of wholesale withdrawal, and the right of no "territorial compromise."

It seems therefore that the Labor Party, divided as it is, is not entitled to talk about morality in politics. This alignment from MAPAM to the hawks of the agricultural settlements is not capable of decision making, since it is deeply divided in matters of foreign policy and security. Its left wing accepts the 1967 borders, as doves of this kind would, tying cowardice to "real politik." Its right wing does not dream of "territorial compromise," as some of its leaders have said publicly, therefore it does not support the official platform of its party. Also large sections of the central committee of the Alignment think in historical categories of forcing Jewish will on the events in the area, rather than yielding to such events, as accepted among the left-wingers in the Labor Party. This is a deep rift, which cannot be bridged by returning the Alignment to power. Temporarily it is possible to hide it by high sounding words about unity in the labor movement, but it may destroy the peace agreement with Egypt when no other way out is found.

Negotiations on the autonomy, which will be conducted with considerable influence of Dayan, by deciding on the order of priorities in matters of security, may be accepted by Mr Peres with a sigh of relief.

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CSO: 4805/190c

DAYAN ON LEBANON, WEST BANK PROBLEMS

TA300919 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 30 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by David Zohar: "Dayan: A Comprehensive War With Syria Must Be Avoided"]

[Text] "I accept the decision on the IDF's active intervention against the Syrians in Lebanon, but we must set ourselves two limitations: To avoid conquering territory for the purpose of holding on to it and also to avoid coming to the point of a comprehensive war with the Syrians," Knesset member Moshe Dayan said yesterday, at an appearance before highschool students from the Re'ali School in the A. Biram auditorium.

"We (TELEM)," he said in reply to a question, "do not think that the Arabs in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip should be forced to be a part of Eretz Yisra'el. We do not support Israeli sovereignty over these territories. However, neither will we agree to a Palestinian state in those territories, one that would be a springboard for the destruction of Israel. We are in favor of canceling the military government, for autonomy for the inhabitants of the territories and the granting of the right for the inhabitants of Hebron and Nabulus to be linked with Amman or Jerusalem or any other element. However, the area between the green line and the Jordan River will be open for coexistence between Jews and Arabs and a Jew will be able to buy a plot of land there and build himself a house.

"The IDF should remain in the territories in order to guard the security of the Jewish settlements and the security of the state. The aim is to put an end to an imposed Israeli rule over the Arabs of the territories and come to coexistence."

CSO: 4805/200d-F

HISTORY OF COMMUNIST PARTIES REVIEWED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 1 Feb 81 p 8

[Article by Meir Bareli: "Anatomy of a Party--The Heirs of PCP and MAKI"]

[Text] The rift in MAKI took place in the summer of 1965, at a time replete with public-partisan events. Because of these events the rift in this small extreme party went almost unnoticed in public. To the left of the public spectrum a rift between Mapai and its leader, David Ben-Gurion who established the "Israel workers' list" (RAFI) took place. To the right of the public spectrum GAHAL was consolidated, which would in time become an alternative for the voter disillusioned with the socialist Alignment. Under such circumstances no one seemed to care about the events within a party which was considered outside the accepted domain in the thinking of "the Jew in the street."

It will take too much space in a newspaper article to describe the history of the Communist Party until the 1965 rift. Fortunately, in 1953, a few years before the abovementioned rift, a book appeared describing in detail the history of the Israeli Communist Party with all its metamorphoses. The book published by Am Oved was titled "MPS-PCP--MAKI" and its subtitle was "History of the Communist Party in Israel," by G. Z. Israeli (assumed name). Anyone interested in this history should read this book.

The only chapter missing in the book is the story of how Moshe Sneh and his followers joined MAKI. When Yair Tzaban's book on Moshe Sneh comes out we will know more about the reasons which prompted this talented Zionist leader to join MAKI, which was anti-Zionist and not a proper arena for this man's activities. Those who watched Sneh noticed that during his communist period his speeches were inferior to the ones he gave in the past when he avoided the communism dictated by the Soviet Union. To understand the rift it is important to note Moshe Sneh's affiliation with MAKI and his influence on the "first secretary" Shmuel Mironis, and to a considerable degree also on Esther Vilenska.

During the rift itself, in 1965, it was clear that those who continued in the MAKI tradition were those who remained loyal to Moscow. In Europe a "Euro-communism" was growing, but it was careful not to cross Moscow, in a way which became necessary in Israel, for anyone who wanted to preserve a modicum of national Jewish identity. It was quickly proven that in terms of the organizational existence of the Communist Party--Vilner, Tubi and their followers were the continuation of MAKI.

It seemed at first that most of the Jewish communists supported Miquonis and Sneh and most of the Arabs Vilner-Tubi. In time it turned out that also among Jewish communists, especially the old-timers (as distinguished from Sneh's people) the weight of RAKAH increased. The decision of the Miquonis-Sneh section to retain the name MAKI was an anti-communist decision. A Knesset committee decided who was entitled to this name. It had formal reasons, but it was clear that its members played favorites.

The Vilner-Tubi people were forced to be called "New Communist Party" (RAKAH). This is not a small matter for communists. Communist parties in different countries call themselves by the same name: The Communist Party, followed by the name of the country where the party pursues the cause of communism. Meir Vilner and his people began to call the defectors by the name of QMS (the Miquonis-Sneh group). After a short time they were proven right--Israeli communism tied to communism in other countries (and tied to Russia) was centered in RAKAH, while Miquonis-Sneh is MAKI (later Sneh-Miquonis) remained a small body which quickly lost its influence.

There is no doubt that the fact that the Arabs in MAKI supported the Vilner-Tubi side was quite significant. There was no great Jewish support of any communist faction, while the Arabs gave RAKAH electoral weight which enabled it to exist as a party. The support of the communist world was also important. It had influence on people who wanted to see themselves as communists. The support of Israeli public opinion which was anti-communist gave Miquonis-Sneh only the name, MAKI, which did not last long. Esther Vilenska, with the passive support of Sneh and Miquonis, quit Sneh's MAKI and established AKI (Organization, or Association of Israeli Communists) which did not take root, while MAKI turned to pacts with other bodies (article about Shelli).

If RAKAH wanted to adopt today the name MAKI which it wished for so ardently no one could stop it from doing so. It is in no rush to do so, since in the meantime it started on a new campaign. Like any communist party in a noncommunist country it operates front organizations. RAKAH too has such organizations (friendship associations, peace movement, etc).

In the elections for the Ninth Knesset it appeared under a new name, HADASH. This is a front in which the letter "D" symbolizes the desire of the communists for democracy, the "S"--shalom, peace. In this list appeared the name of one of the "Black Panthers" leaders who was elected to the Knesset, Charlie Beton. It is not at all clear whether he is the representative of the Panthers in the Communist Party in the Knesset or that he has been all along the communist representative in the Black Panthers. The hopes that Vilner and Tubi had for Charlie Beton were not justified, but it is not to be assumed that they are sorry that one-fifth of their representation in the Knesset (they have five representatives) was entrusted to a Panther. He fulfilled all his obligations as a communist Knesset member, in foreign policy and in loyalty to the interests of the Palestinian Arab people (whose votes "elected" him). Using several tricks, he is able to attract attention to himself (and to his party). More is not needed.

It should be understood that membership in the Knesset is not a matter of great prestige for the communists, unlike other political activists. In the social-public

hierarchy of the communists a role within their party institution is much more important. Therefore Charlie Selim's membership in the Knesset is not stealing anything from another activist who has greater merit. Thus, the party has two Jews, two Christians and one Muslim. This is far from reflecting the breakdown of voters for the "V" party, which is the letter of RAFAH and now of HADASH.

The main activity of RAFAH is in the Arab community, in ties with Arab national groups in the West Bank and abroad, and in complex and ambivalent relations with the PLO--some of which is part of the Israeli public arena and therefore does not pertain to this series of articles.

It is interesting to note that in the Histadrut were RAFAH (overtook MA'AR). At first it was the MA'AR arena of Michael-Shefi, since only the Jewish communists were in the Histadrut. RAFAH took MA'AR's place in this arena when the Arabs became accepted in the Histadrut, first in the trade unions and later in the elections to the Histadrut convention. The letter "O" of MA'AR disappeared and the letter "V" of RAFAH took its place. This phenomenon is the result of a known fact that in the last elections to the Histadrut convention RAFAH suffered a severe blow. This happened in June 1977, some 3 weeks after the Likud victory in the elections to the Knesset. The Arabs of Israel were scared of the new government. They did not expect good defense from RAFAH, and hastened to strengthen the Alignment, which they did not love, yet they knew it and were afraid of the "new king," the Likud.

This phenomenon is the result of a well-known fact--that RAFAH's Arab voters are not real communists. If they had real communist consciousness, the political upset in Israel would not have sent them running to the social-democratic ("social-fascist") or communist-parliamentary party. For a long time many have argued that the fact that an Arab within framework of the Communist Party Israel's Arabs can be active anti-Zionists is a source of RAFAH's strength.

However, the reason, it is an indisputable fact that the continuation of MPE, PLO and MA'AR is in the hands of the party with Meir Viner heads. By the way, who does he read or and not an Arab leader? The denomination is typically communist. In the state of Israel a Jewish leader is needed. One should bear in mind that in Palestine (Land of Israel), when the Comintern did not believe that the Jewish population would grow, it forced the Jewish communists (there were no others at the time) to work mainly in the Arab community and it put at its head Haimar al Hila, an Arab who studied communism in Moscow. It is quite possible that Israel's Arabs (on both sides of the green line) look upon Meir Viner the way they looked upon Haimar al Hila in the 1930's.

RAKAH LOSES ARAB VOTES IN HISTADRUT ELECTIONS

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 9 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by 'Atallah Mansuri: "Decline for RAKAH in the Arab Sector"]

[Text] The PLO appeal to Arab Histadrut members to support RAKAH did not get a positive response. On the contrary, RAKAH lost votes in many cases, especially in the large, developed areas which were the principal source of pride and support for party workers. In Nazareth, Shefar'am, al-Tayyibah, 'Usfiyah and Qalifat al-Karmil--in which there were workers' council elections--RAKAH lost and at best got a fraction of the votes it had in the past.

In Nazareth, the Alignment won nearly 5,000 votes and the Front about 3,400. In Shefar'am, the Alignment received second place and more votes than RAKAH's Front. In the developed Druze settlements on Karmel, RAKAH did not succeed in winning representation on the local workers' council. In the town of Tayyibah, RAKAH got about a quarter of the votes. In every previous election campaign for a local council or in the general election for the Histadrut RAKAH received more than half the vote.

In villages neglected by Histadrut services and by the organization within the framework of workers' councils, the picture was not uniform. In small villages where in the past RAKAH did not have a foothold, this time its workers succeeded in acquiring a position for themselves. In large villages RAKAH gained additional votes in a number of towns but lost ground in others. In sum, the Alignment is again the chief party in the villages of the Nazareth area, where it polled 4,300 votes versus about 4,500 votes for RAKAH.

It appears that the real victor in the Arab sector is the Shinuy list, which has penetrated dozens of Arab towns in the country in an impressive way. In Nazareth also, Shinuy got more than 300 votes and was only a few votes short of getting representation on the workers' council. In the druze villages, Shinuy won substantial representation. In 'Usfiyah, Knesset member Zaydan 'Atshi's place of residence, the list won in five settlements on the workers' council versus two for Likud. In Qalifat al-Karmil, Knesset member Amal Nasr-al-Din's (Likud) town Shinuy won 511 votes versus 118 given to Likud.

AGUDAT YISRAEL SEEMS LOSING GROUND

TEL AVIV DAVAR in Hebrew 12 Feb 61 p 9

[Article by Meir Barak: "Anatomy of a Party--Between Rabbi Reines and Rabbi Kuk"]

[Text] It has been accepted in Israel that the Mizrahi people are less religious than the Agudat Yisrael people (while the Hapoel Hamizrahi are even less religious than their parents, the Mizrahi). It is doubtful whether this was true in terms of purely religious conception. Agudat Yisrael and its people did not deny the need of the entire Jewish people to live by the Torah, keep the Commandments, but their main concern was (and is to this day) the freedom of their people to live according to their conscience and to keep all the Commandments. The life-blood of the movements which united in 1956 as the NRP (National Religious Party) is the aspiration that all of us live a Jewish life--according to the understanding of religious Jews.

The most serious ideological view which the NRP suffered is that those who return to religion choose the Agudat Yisrael academies ("black academies" as the NRP calls them). The reason for this is that the people who return to religion are not looking to solve a general problem, the problem of the entire Jewish people, not even the problem of Jewish religion, but a personal-human problem, of disaffection with modern life. Since lifestyle in the world of the Agudah "is more extreme," more removed from corrupt modernism--it appeals to them, but it is a fact that all the national-religious bodies have not attracted to their ranks nonreligious Jews; even the Gush Emunim, which enjoys a great deal of prestige in nonreligious circles which supports its political aims (and also to some extent among those who reject these political aims but are attracted by its pioneering spirit, which reminds people of the "good old days"), even the Gush Emunim has not influenced any non-servant Jews to take part in the morning prayers.

This is one of the problems of the NRP as a movement (as opposed to its problems as a party). It is not the only problem. When the Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrahi were united in 1956, it stood to reason that their ideological problems would be the problem of amalgamating those of rightist views, the allies of the landed gentry in Israel on one hand, and the Hapoel Hamizrahi people who in the course of time became loyal partners in all secular matters of the Workers Movement (despite the fact that the majority in the Hapoel Hamizrahi opposed joining the Histadrut--for religious reasons), on the other. This topic did not cause a controversy, especially since in the Israeli reality the Mizrahi melted away and the NRP is in effect a continuation of the Hapoel Hamizrahi. Various factions in the

NRP are the continuation of factions which operated in the Hapoel Hamizrahi and a few leaders of the Mizrahi found place in the various factions. They did not influence the party. The proof to this is the faction which grew to become the largest NRP faction, "Lamifah," did not absorb Mizrahi leaders, since it was considered too leftist (in the past it supported the Hapoel Hamizrahi joining the Histadrut). The problem of integration did not disturb the Mizrahi since it was swallowed up by the Hapoel Hamizrahi. Anyone who knows the history of the Jews in Israel, and has not been aware of their history since the birth of the state, will be surprised by this fact. In the 1920's and 1930's, the Hapoel Hamizrahi was dependent on the Mizrahi; while the Mizrahi was an important ally in all the coalitions of the right in Israel (which at the time were known as "Citizens"). For instance, the "V" list of the Hapoel Hamizrahi was not represented in the Tel Aviv municipalities while D. Z. Pincas of the Mizrahi was an important partner in the coalition of Israel Roqeah. Thus too in other places, Mizrahi had seniority.

The ideological problem of the national religious movement, which was noticed in the political process which requires decisions and taking stands, was the problem which can best be defined as follows: The Rabbi Reines tradition versus the Rabbi Kuk tradition (the late Kuk, the first chief Rabbi of Israel). These two traditions are not necessarily in conflict. For many years they lived side by side. In Israel today they have entered into conflict. This was most noticeable during the Six-Day War, but was felt even before (in the attitude to the Sinai Campaign and the reprisals before and the political debates in Israel to which the NRP was party). Rabbi Reines, the Rabbi of Lida, established the Mizrahi in 1902 at a convention in Vilna, the main center of Lithuanian Jewry--the Jewry of the "opponents." Rabbi Reines saw Zionism as a solution for the problems of the Jews (therefore he supported the Ugan's proposal at that time). He was not only the founder of the Mizrahi, he was also the man who conceived the idea of preserving the Jewishness of every Jew. This is why he introduced to his academies secular studies, so that those who longed for knowledge would not leave the academy and the world of Judaism.

Rabbi Kuk, on the other hand, was consumed with the fire of redemption; for him Zionism or the settlement of the Land of Israel was much more than improving a lot of Jews persecuted in Russia. It may not be an accident, by the way, that Rabbi Reines was the rabbi in Lida and died in Lida, while Rabbi Kuk immigrated to Israel at a young age along with the rabbi who was then appointed the Ashkenazi Rabbi of Jerusalem.

In a symposium which took place recently at Bar Ilan University about Gush Emunim, based on Tzvi Sa'anan's book on this subject (published by Sifriat Poalim) one of the participants, member of Naveh, explained that the problem with the NRP is that its policy is closer to the spirit of Rabbi Reines while the education of its sons was closer to the spirit of Rabbi Kuk, and this is the reason why many people followed Gush Emunim, including those who received national religious education, who do not agree with the Gush in everything. According to this explanation, it is not an accident that the young people of the NRP, the members of Zohel Akiva, are the most extreme in the MRF in political matters, and have supported Gush Emunim, while their leader, Zviulun Hammer, as a minister in the government, influenced their political consciousness and created a distance

between the young of the NRP who support the Begin government and Gush Emunim, while those who remain in the NRP did not join the Tehiyah, yet oppose the government's policy (giving up the Sinai and the autonomy in the West Bank). Quite naturally, in the recent past there was no contradiction between the socialism of the Hapoel Hamizrahi and the Zionist activism of Rabbi Kuk's followers. The Workers' Movement was headed by David Ben-Gurion and until 1944 the ideologue of this movement was Berl Katzenelson, who differed with Jabotinsky's people in their practical activism, in the realistic striving for greater Zionism. It was easy to prove that the maximalism of the Revisionists was merely lip service.

A story told about Rabbi Kuk during his term as chief rabbi emphasizes his relationship to both the workers of Israel and to Zionism. The rabbi was told that workers in the Valley of Jezreel and in Tel Aviv did not observe the Sabbath and ate non-Kosher meat. The rabbi sighed, and told the complainer a story. It is known that the Land of Israel is holy. But Jerusalem is even holier. In ancient times the temple was the holiest place in the holy city. In the temple, there was the holy of holies, which no one entered, except for the high priest on the holy day, the Day of Atonement, wearing special white garments. Rabbi Kuk stopped his story and said: but while they built the temple! they went into the holy of holies in work clothes, probably even with dirty work clothes! The rabbi ended his story saying: We are now building the temple!

Much has been said about the "historical covenant" which the NRP broke by joining the Likud in the new government. This is not so accurate. It is true that in the early years of the Zionist organization, when Rabbi Reines and his followers, on one hand, and Nahman Sirkin and his followers on the other, were few, without influence, they had common interests of minorities which did not wish to disappear. It is true also that Berl Katzenelson and David Ben-Gurion spoke in the Zionist Executive Committee after World War I with the Mizrahi people about joint Zionist action. This dialogue was built on the common interests of those parties who feared the General Zionists who were still a large majority. It is also true that the NRP was a partner in the early governments of Israel headed by the Alignment and it is true that it had a great deal in common with the labor movement, which showed sensitivity toward Jewish tradition and toward the national religionists whose base was the "Torah and Labor" movement. It is also true that when the national education law was passed, it was agreed that a national-religious education would be established as a continuation of the Mizrahi current in education.

At the same time it is true that the most difficult labor disputes in Israel (especially in the 1920's) were between the Hapoel Hamizrahi and the Histadrut. The Revisionists workers spoke in high sounding words about breaking strikes and destroying the Histadrut, but they had very few people to carry it out. The dialogue between the Histadrut and the Hapoel Hamizrahi was achieved in stages. At the same time, it is true that when the workers organized for the first time the Zionist administration, in 1933, the Religionists remained in the opposition and the ally of Mapai was Y. Greenbaum, who was known for his anti-clerical fanaticism. It is also true that most of the government crises in all the governments headed by Mapai and Labor were the results of fights with the NRP. Finally, we should bear in mind that the Alignment broke the partnership, when Yitzhak Rabin kicked the NRP out of the government in what was then termed a "brilliant maneuver."

The NRP in the 1950's and the 1960's accepted all the socioeconomic policies of Mapai and also its foreign and security policies. NRP in the 1970's did not limit itself to religious demands but also had foreign affairs demands, which were presented as an ultimatum. As for socioeconomic policy, it agreed with the Alignment's, and later on with the Likud's.

When the Alignment looks for allies after the election it will find out that all those who aspired to be in the center (nonreligious) are of views similar to the Likud's, if not more extreme, in matters of free economy and reducing the waste in welfare expenditures. These will be the most serious questions which will seek solution in the second half of 1981.

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SHINUI LEADERS DISCLOSE PARTY PROGRAM

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE in English 24 Apr 81 pp 4-5

[Interviews with Amnon Rubinstein and Mordechai Virshubsky, Shinui leaders, by Mark Segal: "Champions of Change": date and place not given]

[Text] There are still quite a number of people who agree wholeheartedly with the Shinui slogan, "People you can trust," when they consider the record of its six Knesset members, and especially of its two top men, party chairman Amnon Rubinstein and Mordechai Virshubsky. They have emerged from the disintegration of the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) as its only intact element and with a reputation for integrity rare among our politicians. Their main problem is how to "sell" their product to a sceptical public.

Both are lawyers. Rubinstein entered politics after making his academic reputation as a brilliant law professor and dean of the Tel Aviv University Law School, and imprinting his name on the public mind with his iconoclastic TV talk shows and column in HA'ARETZ. Virshubsky carved out his niche as counsel to Tel Aviv Municipality, often getting into trouble with his bosses for finding in favour of victims of municipal bureaucracy.

The two make a good team, Rubinstein, a scion of an old-money family who married a Chelouche, combining a debonair style with an inquiring intellect (that has produced a number of thought-provoking books on Zionism and modern Israel) is complemented by the more abrasive Virshubsky, whose hard-hitting phrases spell out the sentiments of Rubinstein, who acquired a taste for understatement during his graduate studies in London. Rubinstein is more aloof than Virshubsky, a hevraman who enjoys excellent social relations with members of all shades of the political spectrum.

Rubinstein feels that Shinui came out "fairly well, all things considered" from the Histadrut elections, their 2.2 per cent of the vote putting them top of the smaller factions. It was their first bid to contest the Histadrut elections and, unlike the Alignment and the Likud, they had no trade union functionaries on whom to base their campaign organization. And if they suffered from the high abstention rate, they were encouraged by the thousands of voters up and down the country, in development towns and Arab and Druse villages, where Shinui had suddenly appeared on the map. They had won representation on 20 labour councils, netting 7 per cent in Ramle, 10 per cent in Beit Shemesh, 12.5 per cent in Or Yehuda and as high as 40 per cent in Yokne'am Eilat.

He agreed that Shinui was suffering unjustly from its association with the defunct DMC. Formed in 1974, his party was the first native Israeli political movement--the others were all either founded before the state was born or had splintered off from these. In those seven years they had shown "consistency and credibility" he said earnestly, adding: "Only one and a half years of that period were spent as part of the DMC. So it's false to see us as a splinter of the DMC. It should really be regarded as an accident in our ascent."

When I mentioned the name of Deputy Premier Yigael Yadin, who now blames Rubinstein personally and Shinui collectively as the cause of the DMC's downfall, he lost some of his well-bred unflappability. There is a strong element of bitterness in his reaction, like that of a middle-aged man being reminded of the person who shattered the illusions of his youth.

"We combined with Yadin because we believed what everyone believed at the time: that he was the knight on the white horse galloping to the nation's rescue. People told us that even Ben-Gurion wanted him to become premier... We were told by all and sundry--including columnists in THE JERUSALEM POST that our ideas were right and our people were okay, but that we would never get anywhere without big names.

"We gave the DMC its brain, its heart and its hands. We even drafted its platform," Rubinstein declared with passion. He would never forget how Yadin, who had led the movement for electoral reform, agreed to serve as Begin's instrument in scuttling electoral reform as soon as he took office. "No one could have imagined that Yadin would emerge so totally subservient to Begin," he said.

And Shmuel Tamir? I prompted and he took the cue. "Not forgetting Tamir's total influence over Yadin, which to some extent defies rational explanation."

He was amazed that "even at this stage, when it is already clear to everyone that Tamir is steering his way back to the Likud all the time, Yadin still hero-worships him. Anybody who predicted such a development back in 1976 would have been certified.

Rubinstein found Yadin's harping on Shinui's responsibility for the DMC's demise palpably unjust. Why, then, had he never reacted to the serious charges made by the deputy premier in the famous TV interview in which he announced the Democratic Party's liquidation.

For a long time, said Rubinstein. "I wanted to let bygones be bygones. I hate the Israeli-style personal bickering that dominates our debates. But Yadin seems to have become obsessed with Shinui, blaming us for all his own misfortunes. It's quite pathetic, because he lost all his men, just like in "Ten Little Indians." Until today he stands in unsplendid isolation--creating a parliamentary phenomenon that will certainly be studied by political scientists: a deputy premier backed by one single Knesset member--himself."

Rubinstein pointed out that while the DMC had lost all its supporters, Shinui had doubled its representation in the Knesset from three to six, and now maintained a network of branches based on participatory democracy.

"That could hardly be considered a mere accident," he said, noting that 200,000 citizens gave their votes to the DMC in 1977 on condition that it kept its word. Not only had that movement not kept its pledges; it had betrayed its constituency by joining a coalition set up on the basis of an agreement between Herut, the NRP and Agudat Israel.

"That was Yadin's fatal mistake--alienating those who voted for DASH in the belief that it would bring change in exchange for an imaginary political world he had conjured up."

Virshubsky said he had been in the minority in the DMC all along, having opposed any idea of joining the Begin government. He pointed to the "new DASH" materializing around Moshe Dayan, which, to judge by the level of its candidates, was "already a fiasco." A movement must be based on a common denominator of values and principles. "A viable party must be based on hard, sloggish parliamentary work with proper ties with the public," he declared, believing that voters hold honesty and integrity in much higher esteem than so many professional politicians seem to think. He saw Shinui in the role of "the watchdog of integrity and probity in public life," arguing that the moment a public representative gave in on principles for the sake of a slice of the power cake, he would lose his credibility--and eventually his public support.

"Look at Yadin and Tamir. They started out with the third largest party, and today they stand alone. Israel Katz is a political phenomenon. He holds onto his cabinet seat although he represents absolutely no one, and at the same time he has opportunistically joined a party outside the coalition... He is really the biggest fraud of all, telling me he was more dovish than me, while all the time he was doing what Arik Sharon wanted. No one can accuse Shinui of having put cabinet seats ahead of principles."

Both Rubinstein and Virshubsky consider that Shinui has emerged toughened from its ordeals.

"It's like the ordeal by fire: they all went up in flames, we emerged stronger," Rubinstein put it, arguing that they could go to the electorate with clean hands. "We saw what was going to happen while others were dazzled by the temptations of office. Hence our slogan 'People you can trust' is quite true."

They see themselves as the only party in Israel based on Western democracy as opposed to the old-established parties based on an antiquated pre-Independence system, not geared to the needs of an industrialized and pluralist society. That is why they put such emphasis on electoral reform and the adoption of a constitution containing a Bill of Rights, plus the pluralist concept of Judaism.

Rubinstein stressed Shinui's pioneer advocacy of equal rights for Conservative and Reform congregations. They seek to end the monopoly of the Orthodox rabbinate, which he sees as incompatible with modern society and the pluralist nature of contemporary Jewry.

They are worried about norms and attitudes in Israeli society, and about a political leadership which does not give the lead in such matters. Shinui, for example, took the initiative in giving up its MKs' immunity in traffic offences.

Despite being "really strapped," Shinui had given IS500,000 to charity to demonstrate its opposition to the arbitrary raising of party funding levels "by the unholy trinity of the Likud, Labour and the NRP."

It was nonsense to accuse them of being naive, Rubinstein said, believing that someone had to take a stand.

"In this respect Shinui is the absolute antithesis of Moshe Dayan, whose very charisma stems from setting a negative example in matters of public mores, public responsibility and public property."

Virshubsky believes that in the June elections they will get more than the polls' forecast of four mandates at most. There are many middle-class voters who are liberal in outlook but are disenchanted with the Likud and dislike Labour, so they are seeking an alternative choice. He also thinks the party's emphasis on upholding the law will attract former Independent Liberal voters who last time opted for the DMC.

Rubinstein, for his part, feels that when the crunch comes, many abstainers will swing to Shinui rather than vote Labour. In his opinion, a vote for Labour would mean supporting an amorphous body that embraced opinions stretching from Gush Emunim to Sheli, from Orthodox Marxism to monetarism. Because Labour lacked a clearly defined leadership, no one knew where it was heading.

"Labour is like the Hannaka top, which falls on one side or another by chance. You can never predict which way Labour is going to vote," he said, citing the Jerusalem Law, when Labour kowtowed to Geula Cohen's initiative, or the way the Labour caucus splits over Arik Sharon's settlement proposals at the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee, "One part is for, one part against and one part abstains."

When it came to electoral reform, half the Labour faction abstained, Rubinstein said, remarking sardonically, "Labour MKs are very good at walking out." The only cases of unanimous Labour votes he could recall were those for increasing party funding and for the NRP's Chief Rabbinate bill. Even on the peace treaty they did not all vote for it: a whole group led by the late Yigal Allon abstained. (No, he did not think Labour had learned any lesson from its 1977 defeat, "and I watched with horror how Labour joined with the Likud in postponing for the fifth time the attorney-general's request to lift Aharon Abuhatzzeira's immunity.")

Virshubsky was anxious about the bad image projected by the Ninth Knesset and felt that the public knew too little about its legislation work. He feared the trend of our society to look for simplistic answers to the complexities of contemporary Israel.

"There are too many generals and functionaries in politics and in the Knesset. We have to show that there is room for those who care about maintaining standards," he declared with emotion.

If Shinui and the Citizens Rights Movement were aiming at the same constituency, why did they not combine? I asked both of them that question.

Rubinstein, whom I met in his office off Dizengoff, denied that it was a function of conflicting personalities. "Not really, I'm on good terms with Shu'a Aloni. It's rather that Shinui is based on internal democracy, and the CRM is run along different lines."

Virshubsky spoke in less temperate tones, for he had cooperated with Aloni on a number of legislative issues and even joined the Fifth of Iyar civil rights lobby which had turned out to be an electoral vehicle for Aloni. He also noted that while the CRM had backed Labour in the Histadrut, Shinui had sought to reform the federation's present structure. They leaned more towards the centre, while Aloni was swinging to the left. The cooption of Meron Benvenisti and two of the left-wing members of Peace Now were indicative of this trend, Virshubsky said, also noting that part of CRM favoured a Palestinian state on which issue Shinui parted ways from the Aloni group.

"Anyhow, Shinui is a democratic party with majority decisions, while CRM is a one-woman show. After all, if Shula can impose Meron Benvenisti on her party, as well as Deddi Zucker and Yuli Tamir, she can also sack them. That is, if they don't abandon her for Labour or Sheli before then."

In Shinui, Virshubsky said, the majority often overruled Rubinstein on many issues, which he himself accepted good-naturedly. For example, their plank on religion and state had been more secular than Rubinstein had intended, and their foreign policy and defence platform was more dovish than Rubinstein's own position.

Virshubsky felt strongly that it was high time the NRP was put onto the opposition benches, because it represented a threat not only in its ultra-maximalist line in Judea and Samaria ("Rabbi Druckman has captured that party") but stood for all that is negative in Israeli society. Not only did they impose a particular way of life on the majority, plus special privileges for their group, but they had prevented the introduction of a reformed electoral system and a written constitution. He saw the NRP as a source of internal corruption, having exploited public funds for party purposes. He did not forget to lash out at the Likud and Labour, which he claimed were also guilty because they underwrote everything the NRP wanted.

With all Rubinstein's reservations about Labour, particularly its over-reliance on foreign millionaires for financing its Aleph campaign ("We don't even know who is really behind it"), it was far, far preferable to the Likud, which had ruined the economy, the rule of law and the quality of life during its four years in office. Shinui had openly declared its readiness to help Labour set up a government, if it were possible.

He believed that Shinui had a special appeal for Israelis from English-speaking countries--American born Professor Hillel Shuval was among the more prominent settlers from this background who had joined Shinui.

He had spoken on a Concerned Citizens' Committee platform in Jerusalem, and had been shocked to learn since then that the organization was considered a Labour front. "If that's true, then many people have been had," he said.

Shinui had a good record as a medium-sized opposition party, having taken initiatives dodged by the larger parties. Its MK Shmuel Toledano, during his spell as chairman of the State Comptroller Committee had seen to it that at long last the comptroller had a right to examine Interior Ministry allocations. They were also responsible for the amendment to the law which protected people who testified about corruption in public service from victimization. The two Shinui leaders believed that their record showed that their faction had fulfilled its mission as a watchdog of democracy, the rule of law and religious freedom.

They wished to disprove NRP MK David Glass' statement (in the Abuhatzzeira trial) that "politics and morality often do not go together," hoping that their bill to stop absentee MKs from getting their salaries although remaining abroad would be enacted before the Ninth Knesset dispersed. Both Rubinstein and Virshubsky pointed to Moshe Dayan as a prime example of Glass' claim.

Said the latter, "His infrequent appearance in the Knesset has never stopped him from accepting the salary for a full-time job."

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'RATZ' PRESENTS ITS PLATFORM, IDEAS ON TERRITORIES

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Dani Rubinstein: "Israeli Trusteeship for 5 Years in the Territories and Gradual Disengagement; This Program Was Presented Yesterday by Ratz Representative to Knesset, Meron Benvenisti"]

[Text] Meron Benvenisti presented yesterday a new political plan for the West Bank, based on the principle of Israeli trusteeship in the territories for 5 years and gradual disengagement, enabling options of confederate solutions in the future.

Benvenisti said that the solutions offered by the parties at this time do not take into account the new reality in the area, which is a reality of total annexation. He explained that all other solutions do not resolve in effect the political conflict between us and the Palestinians but perpetuate the struggle.

Benvenisti appeared yesterday as representative of the Ratz Party for the Knesset, which includes the 5 Iyar group and the Peace Now. His words presented an unconventional approach to the problem of the territories, and he emphasized the following points:

Economically, there has been full integration of the West Bank in Israel.

Socially, the process of proletarianization of the rural population in the West Bank, many of whose members work in Israel and some of whom live near the cities.

In the judicial-administrative system, 350 orders have been issued by the Israeli government which have completely changed the law in the territories.

Politically, there has been polarization in Arab positions and there is no chance for finding moderate leadership.

Militarily, an armed militia has been established in the West Bank (of the Gush Emunim) with its own ideology which blurs the distinctions between a military unit and a sect of militant citizens.

Benvenisti said that a million and a half dunam of the West Bank land is under Israeli control including some 60 settlements with populations close to 20,000, enjoying a large Israeli rear. Israeli rule in the West Bank itself has been

strengthened by applying Israeli laws in 10 regional and municipal councils which include an area larger than all the cities of the West Bank combined.

Benvenisti presented a map with the centers of Israeli domination in the West Bank, accepted by most of the parties in Israel. According to this map, the bloc of settlements joining Jerusalem together with the settlements of the valley and the settlements of Western Samaria (Elqana-Ariel) have limited possible solutions in the future. These areas, between Bet-el and Gush Etzion, in the valley and in the slopes of Samaria, include some 38 percent of the West Bank residents, and the size of these areas is about 14 percent of the West Bank. If there is an agreement in regard to them on the part of the Alignment not to make concessions, therefore the aspirations of the Alignment not to rule the Arabs are baseless.

Benvenisti explained, that especially in the area surrounding Jerusalem and in the Aerial region many Israelis settle without ideological motivation, only because of a trust to expand the Jewish residential sections of Jerusalem as the postal zone. In addition the IDF established joint deployment in the West Bank on areas which have no substitute in Israel.

According to this information, Benvenisti added, in effect the Likud plan which seeks a situation that cannot be changed in the West Bank has been accomplished. "According to this plan we have swallowed the West Bank, although not able to digest it nor to regurgitate it." In addition, he said, we have paid a high price of international isolation, insufferable relations with the Arab population, and we have mortgaged our future."

Benvenisti attacked in strong terms the third plan, which in his opinion is the most realistic of all, which is Dayan's plan to stop the occupation and take out the military government from the centers of Arab population. This is cessation of occupation Benvenisti said, but instead of temporary occupation we will create perpetual bondage, not unlike Indian reservations, or South African Soweto.

Therefore Benvenisti proposed that Israel declare that it has seized the West Bank and its Arab Palestinian residents as a trust until a peace agreement which will be based on the implementation of the national rights of both nations. This is a policy which Benvenisti defines as disengagement and reconciliation and its principles for the appearance are as follows:

Granting freedom of political expression for the territory's residents.

Transferring the responsibility for the territories from the military arm to a minister in charge of the territories.

Reorganization of the civilian functions of the military government.

Returning the authority that was taken away from the Arab councils and were given to the military governors.

Parliamentary control in the legislature of the territories, a revision of the past military legislation.

Economic development of the Palestinian community until it becomes independent. Putting the infrastructure and some of the resources that were given to the settlers, immediately, to the local residents.

Equalizing of social conditions with Israel.

Disbanding the armed militias of the settlers.

Egyptian participation in the permanent committee for the transition arrangements in the territories in the spirit of the Camp David Accords.

Institutionalization of the existing arrangements in Jerusalem by means of a government proclamation.

"The emphasis in the disengagement plan is on substantive measures, unlike the sterile judicial dispute concerning the 'rights of the authority of the autonomy,'" said Benvenisti.

In his opinion, the humanization of these traditional arrangements leave various options for permanent solution based on the realization of the national rights of both nations.

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ALONI-SARID PARTY PLATFORM ANALYZED

Tel Aviv HA-ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Mati Golan: "The DASH Which Did Not Fail; Joint Party of Shulamit Aloni and Yosi Sarid May Get the Votes of a Public Which Prefers a Politician Who Will Sacrifice His Personal Ambition on the Altar of His/Her Principles"]

[Text] In the last PORI poll the respondents gave Member of Knesset Shulamit Aloni 5 mandates. The first reaction to these results was surprise. But if we look at it closely, we see that it is not only a temporary meteoric phenomenon.

Unlike some stars that have shone occasionally in public opinion polls, like Yitzhaq Rabin and Moshe Dayan, Shulamit Aloni's success is different, if only because of the simple fact that she deserves it. It is not often that the Israeli public understands and accepts such things, having often shown the rather unusual talent for self-flagellation.

Shulamit Aloni deserves it, first and foremost, because in the most difficult moment and in the face of many temptations she refused to swerve and continued to pursue her principles with persistence and honesty. She did not look for high trees to hang on to, as members of "Shinui" did when they joined Yigael Yadin. She did not resort to gimmicks and political acrobatic exercises in order to artificially expand her electoral base.

Aloni's war, to define her objectives, is public hygiene. When she challenges the religious parties, it is not because of negative attitude towards religion. On the contrary, because of her respect for the Jewish religion and tradition, she speaks out against religion becoming an axe to grind in the hands of the religious parties. The basic point of departure of Aloni, both in religious and in other matters is anchored in her fanatic, nearly obsessive devotion to human rights, be it toward Arabs, Jews, religious, or secular. Even her dovish political philosophy is based on this point of departure.

Honesty and faith put her points across the Knesset. One also needs parliamentary talent, and in this area too Aloni has shown that she has the necessary tool. It is at times hard to believe she is a one-person party. There is hardly a debate in which she does not take part. The Knesset records are full of her interjections. In the committee she does not miss a meeting when the agenda includes a topic or a law close to her heart.

She does make mistakes. Her enthusiasm sometimes makes her take extreme positions, causes her to exaggerate, present facts inaccurately. Her fanaticism sometimes leads her to bad alleys. As anyone who is committed to a cause, she thinks in black and white, and is not able to identify gray areas, much less accept them.

Giving Up a Safe Place

But these are small sins, which pale in comparison to the total picture of her parliamentary performance, perhaps necessary sins. Polished politicians do not exaggerate, provide exact facts, look for the gray before they see the black or the white; they do not hesitate to give up principles, cross lines, change positions. They do not give up a minister's position, as Aloni did when she left Rabin's government. They do not give up a safe place in the Alignment Party, as Aloni is doing now.

There is a segment in the Israeli public which is looking for an unsophisticated politician, who is willing to sacrifice personal ambition on the altar of his principles. In the last election this segment gave votes to DASH, which failed. For many in this segment, Shulamit Aloni is the DASH that did not fail. They apparently gave her 5 mandates in the PORI poll.

The potential of Aloni's supporters may grow. On 12 April the Central Committee of the Labor Party will convene, in order to pick the party's candidates for the 10th Knesset. Among the present Knesset members of this party, 13 need at least 60 percent of the center's delegates in order to be included in the list. Among them is member of Knesset Yosi Sarid. But the criterion for choosing candidates is success in the Parliamentary arena. Sarid would have won the trust of all these center members. But several party activists decided to approach this matter politically. Since Sarid's views differ, some of his opponents have organized to stop his election.

Identical Views

These are not mere hawks. Most of those who support Sarid while recognizing his talents and his parliamentary activity, people like Yehezkel Zakai, Amos Hadar, Shlomo Hilel and Shoshana Arbely-Almozlino, have already committed their votes. But the superhawks' camp sees the 60 percent barrier as an opportunity to get back at an important friend.

Sarid can make his life easier without great effort, softening his position here, smoothing the edges there, and he may placate his opponents. Yet Sarid, like Aloni, is an exceptional creature on the political map. He has principles he is not willing to give up.

This is not the only thing Sarid and Aloni have in common. They are almost unanimous on foreign policy, security, human rights, state and religion. Both, basically, were and will always remain Laborites, although they may stay a while in another home.

If the opponents are successful in the Labor Central Committee, Sarid may, in a way quite natural to him, go to the elections with Shulamit Aloni. Such a combination, from the Alignment standpoint, is more dangerous than a Moshe Dayan

party. If Shulamit Aloni alone has a mandate potential, then with Zorid RATZ may get 7 to 10 mandates. It is ironic, that from a personal advantage standpoint, it is preferable for Sarid that his party reject him. If he is included in the hit list he will be in the Knesset, but his chances to serve in the government would be nil. They will increase if he is at the head of Aloni's list. If the electoral prognosis comes true, such lists will be the natural partner for a coalition with the Alignment and will get at least 2 to 3 ministers. Sarid no doubt will be one of them.

Sarid himself categorically rejects such a possibility. "I am a member of the Labor Party and I will remain in it, regardless of the outcome of the Central Committee's vote." This is what he says today. If his colleagues turn their backs on him he may decide that joining Aloni is not leaving the Labor Party. At most it is going out in order to come back in.

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CITIZEN'S RIGHTS LEADERS EXPLAIN PLATFORM

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE in English 13 Mar 81 pp 6-7

[Article by Mark Segal: "Mixed Doubles"]

[Text] All those fiercely loyal Shulamit Aloni supporters will be gratified to know that their heroine has at long last found herself a political consort, in the person of Meron Benvenisti.

Benvenisti, the bearer of an ancient Sephardi name, promises to be an equal partner with the fiery Aloni--known universally as Shula--from his No 2 post on her Civil Rights Movement Knesset list. Indeed, the former Jerusalem deputy mayor has emerged as a tough politician after his years at Teddy Kollek's side. His break with the father-figure Jerusalem mayor may have provided him with the opportunity to make his own place in our political life, just as Shula Aloni established herself after she was forced out of the Labour Party Knesset list by the late Golda Meir.

Aloni, who is also one of the Knesset's better tennisplayers, has come a long way since she formed her own CRM back in 1973. Her three seats in the 8th Knesset entitled her to a brief turn in the Rabin cabinet, as minister without portfolio. And even though the DMC tidal wave swept away two of the CRM's seats, she did survive as a single-member faction in the 9th Knesset.

Now, in addition to Benvenisti, her movement has acquired some impressive reinforcements. She has been joined by members of the Fifth of Iyar Circle, a group of intellectuals, academics and writers who emphasize the human rights sections of the Declaration of Independence, and by a substantial element of Peace Now activists, with Dedi Zucker slated to join her list.

Benvenisti's presence may help a number of voters overcome their "male chauvinist" prejudices against voting for a woman. "They're the kind who come up to me after a meeting and say, of course I agree with you, but...my wife and children will certainly vote for you," Aloni told me, and we all had a good laugh in her party's headquarters in a quiet back street not far from the Tel Aviv sea-front, where I had come to meet CRM's top pair. "Most young men don't have any problems about voting for a woman, but it's the middle-aged men hot in pursuit of the Dayan charisma who cannot stomach the idea," she said waspishly.

Benvenisti's professor at Harvard had been most understanding when his bright graduate student told him he would be unable to complete his Ph.D. thesis by

April. Early elections upset his plans, and so the world will have to wait for the doctoral work with its suitably long-winded title: "Bargaining over the Unbargainable--Local Administration in Ethnically-Polarized Cities: Jerusalem and Belfast."

I wondered whether the CRM's constituency of middle-class voters passionately concerned about questions of civil rights, religion and state, consumerism, and the quality of life in the midst of urban decay might not bridle at the weighty presence of someone largely associated with the knotty problems of coexistence with the Arabs.

Both disagreed vehemently, arguing that civil rights concerns could not stop at the Green Line. If undemocratic practices were condoned on one side of the Green Line, there was no guarantee that they would stop there and not spill over into Israel proper, especially as the Likud had sworn to erase the Green Line forever.

Benvenisti explained: "The solution of the West Bank and the eastern border will not be finalized in the next four years, but I do believe that how we proceed to solve this burning issue will be formulated in the coming years. If the policy of shutting down West Bank colleges and enforcing repressive measures continues, then the questions may arise of whom to build the peace with and how to go about it."

Here Aloni interjected: "I don't want all those boys who work round here to start leaving bombs in our dustbins. Dayan now poses as the Great Liberator, but who invented the policy of collective punishment and summary expulsion? We have to do unto others as we would want them to do unto us."

Benvenisti said that domestic issues and the way to build up peace with the Arabs were indivisible. He spoke witheringly of the clichés being pumped out by so many established politicians on both sides of the spectrum. "Reality is too complex. All this division into left and right is artificial, for they are overtaken by events. They can talk about a Palestinian state but we are not being asked to vote for or against a Palestinian state, are we? I believe that the potential CRM voters appreciate the indivisibility of civil rights for Jews and West Bank Arabs, and they realize that Israel-Arab relations will in the next four years be focused on the micro rather than on the macro scale."

In the former deputy mayor's view, the "Jordanian option" is a fiction. "The Arabs don't want it," he declared. He doesn't anticipate a comprehensive solution before the end of the 1980s; what are needed now are ad hoc solutions for the short-term and not long-term formulas for some hazy future. "It's like a police officer not bothering to catch a thief because he is too busy solving the overall problem of organized crime," he said.

The country is facing a terrible dilemma: "We cannot absorb all those Arabs and they don't want to be integrated with us. Willy-nilly we are being propelled into a pluralistic society for which we are not really ready. It's something we can neither swallow nor spit out. It's like the sick man who is unable to undergo vital surgery, and everyone around him is arguing about the operation as if it were possible. Some of the medical staff discuss loudly the date and the kind of surgery to be applied. The worst part about it is that the poor patient

knows what's going on," he said. "Do you know what they mean by a Jordanian option? They want to give Hussein the privilege of suppressing the demonstrations in Nabulus or the right to be assassinated. Why should he take it on?"

Interestingly, the two candidates haven't handed back their old Labour Party membership cards. "I keep getting letters and appeals, 'Come back home Shula,'" Aloni related with some satisfaction. Both feel close to the Labour movement, but are not comfortable with Labour's policies. For Aloni it was the pact with the NRP that alienated her; for Benvenisti the blind spots over Jerusalem and the West Bank.

However, they support Labour's Histadrut platform, and that was why they had combined with the Alignment in the Histadrut elections. She certainly backed the Histad at war on inflation and unemployment, and so her comrade, Boaz Moav, who headed the CRM Histadrut faction, would merge into the Alignment list. "They told me that I would repel religious voters," she said, explaining why she was not on the Histadrut list.

Here she took off on her favourite theme: "Labour never educated its members in religious tolerance and against coercion. They say we have religious members so let's submit to them. They don't say we have to protect the secular, silent majority from the intrusions of the rabbinical establishment. The Orthodox don't talk of the universalism of the Prophet Isaiah, but seek to keep the rabbinate in the mould of the priestly caste of ancient times. My main disagreement with Labour is over religious legislation."

Part of the deal before joining up with the Labour effort in the Histadrut elections was the inclusion of her people into the policy-making apparatus.

Benvenisti, for his part, feared that Labour's Knesset platform was more nationalist than ever, "whatever MAPAM may say." He pointed to the contradiction between the declaration against wishing to rule the occupied parts of the West Bank, and the actual details of Labour territorial policy. Although he appreciated that many people in Labour were like-minded, the hawkish wing would set the line, he said. "We want to assume the role of catalyst, of watch-dog, as far as Labour is concerned," Benvenisti said, and Aloni nodded in agreement.

He was apprehensive about the situation of a Labour government in April 1982 when the evacuation of Sinai settlements would have to take place under the peace treaty timetable. "I'm not sure how the militant wing of the Labour Knesset faction might vote, what with a vocal Dayan faction in the house, plus Arik Sharon prodding the Likud in opposition, and the NRP in thrall to Gush Emunim. So we have to encourage the saner elements in the Labour movement," Benvenisti declared.

Both he and Aloni have contemplated the dark developments that may occur in such times of national commotion with Gush Emunim settlers possessing huge arsenals.

Considering his Labour roots, Benvenisti said: "It's certainly no betrayal on my part. If we had the constituency system I would run on a Labour ticket." Aloni enthusiastically agreed: "Me too." Symbolic of the CRM's sense of belonging to the Labour movement will be their national conference on March 28 at Beit Berl,

the Labour Party college, when they will finalize their platform. "I'll tell you, we have nothing against Berl, but we certainly could not have met in Beit Jabotinsky. Apart from anything else, we have the hall at an extremely reasonable fee," Aloni explained.

When I mentioned the infusion of Peace Now activists and enthusiastic students into the CRM campaign, Aloni referred enthusiastically to a January opinion poll to ascertain "the Jewish world" of Israeli students. Fifty-eight per cent were for the separation of religion and state, 33 per cent opposed, 6 per cent didn't care, and 3 per cent couldn't say. On the question of civil marriage and divorce, 63 per cent were for, 14 per cent were against, 11 per cent did not care, and 12 per cent were undecided.

The polarization of the younger voters was apparent when it came to support for the two opposing extra-parliamentary groups--Gush Emunim and Peace Now. Some 31 per cent backed Gush Emunim, while 58 per cent opposed it and 11 per cent were undecided; while 36 per cent were for Peace Now, 50 per cent were against and 14 per cent couldn't make up their minds.

A revealing statistic mentioned by Aloni was that a poll of 70,000 12th-grade pupils, who will vote for the first time this year, found them to be almost equally divided in support between the two political poles symbolized by Geula Cohen and Shulamit Aloni. "At least our high schools are not turning out so many male chauvinists," said Aloni, jangling her decorative arm bangles in the direction of an invisible audience of admiring teenagers.

When it came to the subject of Jerusalem, Benvenisti drew on a profound passion nurtured by 11 years of intense involvement in its complex administration. He is deeply worried by the lack of foresight among politicians concerning the effects their decisions have on what Jerusalem will be like. "Life in Jerusalem for the next 20 years is being determined without any proper physical or social planning," he declared with emotion, adding that his strictures applied both to the Likud government and its Labour predecessors. In the past, he recalled, Jerusalem had been a compact city and very pleasant to live in. However, as development of the periphery had got out of hand, centrifugal forces had taken over, rendering the capital prey to all the ailments of American cities, with inner city decay.

What bothers him is the lack of understanding of the social and political ramifications of incorporating another 100,000 Arabs (in addition to East Jerusalem's 100,000 residents) by establishing the outer ring of new suburbs. No proper solution of their problems was being thought out, he warned. "All we have are political slogans filling the air, but no one bothers to think through the terribly complex problems that are coming into being."

This matter goes far beyond the Jerusalem issue, he asserts, and he would like to break through the fog of half-baked ideas and emotional platitudes enveloping it. Although a good number of the West Bank settlements are hardly living communities, he noted, this was not true of places like Beit-el, Efrat, Nebi Samuel and so on, "where the Likud has really changed the map." The Likud was carrying out its plan to draw people to live there because housing was cheaper and the cost of land lower than elsewhere. The same was happening in Samaria, around

Elkana, where families from Kfar Sava were offered housing at a much more reasonable price than in say Ra'anana. These people would be enjoying the best of all possible worlds, getting cheaper homes and doing their patriotic duty.

Benvenisti raised the spectre of the uncontrolled spread of urban blight across the fair landscape. It would also bring the ruination of school integration schemes. "Many parents will find an easy way out of educational integration obligations by moving away from what they consider undesirable social influences. I can just see us forced to adopt busing in order to save the vestiges of our educational integration," he said in despairing tones.

When we turned to the issues facing the electorate, and I wondered whether Israelis would seek above all to restore stability in the economy and in social life, Benvenisti snorted: "The most stable thing in the world is the swamp--nothing moves there. It all stagnates."

Aloni was also in the mood for radical change, especially of the religious status quo. Parliament should be free to ensure civil liberties and individual freedom. The religious parties should be left out of coalition agreements.

In reply to a question, Aloni said she would be ready to sit at the same cabinet table with the NRP as long as the status quo was not part of the coalition agreement. She wished Shimon Peres and other Labour front-benchers who now toy with renewing their partnership with the NRP would realize the clear connection between the religious status quo, the right-wing ascendancy in the NRP, and Gush Emunim.

Under the present government even the judiciary had become politicized, she said, quoting ex-Justice Sussman's strictures on the increasing number of political appointments to the bench. She wondered why the Bar Association, which had been so quick to attack the press for its hostile attitude to the recent anti-press laws, had chosen to keep silent on what was happening to the judiciary.

Aloni found it scandalous that NRP MK David Glass "had the gall" to stay on as chairman of the Knesset Law Committee after testifying in the Abuhatzzeira case that "politics and morality don't go together," and declaring that, if he could, he would have sabotaged police enquiries into the Abuhatzzeira case.

She also had some scathing comments to make about Shinui's support of the bid to keep the CRM out of the Knesset by raising the voting threshold. As to charges that a vote for the CRM was a wasted ballot, Shula Aloni said: "On the contrary, a vote for us is a net vote. Our votes are worth more. We don't have a split personality like Labour, when you don't know whether you're voting for Amos Hadar or Yossi Sarid. I do think above all we have preserved our credibility.

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YUVAL NE'EMAN TO TOP TEHIYA LIST

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 23 Apr 81 p 2

[Article by Joshua Brilliant]

[Text] Prof Yuval Ne'eman will head Hatehiya's 16-candidate list to the Knesset and MK Moshe Shamir will close it, the ultra-nationalist party announced at Kedumim yesterday.

MK Guela Cohen will come second, with settlers in the administered territories filling many of the other slots. The settlers include Hanan Porat of Kfar Etzion (3rd place), Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, Eliakim Haetsni and Avraham Pinto of Kiryat Arba (5th, 6th and 8th), Menahem Felix of Eilon Moreh (9th), Avi Farhan of Yamit (12th), Uri Elitsur of Ofra (13th) and Odded Shamir of the Golan (15th).

Zvi Shiloah, a party activist, is fourth, on the list, Prof. Yosef Nedava is tenth, and former Soviet refusenik Sylva Zalmanson is eleventh.

Cohen said Hatehiya hoped to tip the scales between a Likud-led and an Alignment-led government; it could then pressure the Likud to stop the withdrawal from Sinai.

Cohen said the party will start a fund to help Arabs emigrate--if they do not want to become Israeli citizens or residents. She added that only those who complete three years national service should have a right to vote in Knesset elections.

Over 3,000 took part in the party's outdoor rally yesterday. The rally marked the fifth anniversary of the Kedumim settlement on the Kalkilva-Nablus road.

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RAKAH SEES E. JERUSALEM AS CAPITAL OF PALESTINIAN STATE

TA201005 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 20 May 81 p 3

[Staff report: "RAKAH Wants East Jerusalem as Capital of Arab State"]

[Excerpt] Tel Aviv--The communist-dominated Democratic Front for Peace and Equality has advocated that East Jerusalem become the capital of an Arab Palestinian State, but that Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem cooperate on the municipal level and allow free movement between the western and eastern parts of the city.

This proposal published on Monday reflects a slight change in the Israel Communist Party policy. RAKAH has until now avoided dealing with the question of Jerusalem, apparently in line with Soviet policy which does not recognize the city as Israel's capital.

CSO: 4820/347a-F

BRIEFS

INDEPENDENT LIBERALS CANDIDATES--The Independent Liberal Party this evening chose its candidates for the Knesset. The following are the first five: Yitzhaq Artzi, Nisim Eli'av, Yitzhaq Ber-Levav, Tzvi Hason and Clara Ma'ayan. [Text] [TA101819 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 10 May 81]

SHINUY MOVEMENT CANDIDATES--The Shinuy movement last night elected its four first candidates for the Knesset according to the following order: Amnon Rubinstein, Mordekhay Virshubsky, Zaydan 'Atshah and Shmu'el Toledano. [Text] [TA100538 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 10 May 81]

NEW KNESSET FACTION--This morning, Knesset members Mordekhay Elgrably and Se'adya Marciano decided to set up a United Knesset faction and to run together in the 10th Knesset elections. The new party will be called the Party of Unity for Promoting Education and Society in Israel [Tenu'at Ha'ihud Leqidum Hahinukh Vehahevra Beyisra'el]. Mordekhay Elgrably will be the first on the list and Se'adya Marciano will be second. The movement's activists told our correspondent in the Knesset, Gil'ad Mishori, that they aspire to reach a situation in which social problems in the next Knesset will not be decided without taking their opinion into consideration. They said the party's platform will be worked out in the coming days. The new movement is holding contacts with activists from the Jerusalem tents and Zehavi movements, hoping they will join it and run to the Knesset elections together. [Text] [TA131752 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1510 GMT 13 May 81]

'TENT MOVEMENT' TO RUN--The heads of the Tent Movement in Jerusalem, youths from poor neighborhoods, have decided to turn their movement into a party and to run in the Knesset elections. Our correspondent Yon Feder remarks that previously the Tent Movement had declared it was apolitical. It seems the movement's leaders have decided to establish the party because if they are elected to the Knesset, they will gain immunity from police harrassment against them, according to their claims. One of the movement's leaders, Yamin Swissa, was released from jail 2 weeks ago, after a 4-month imprisonment for a drug offense. Our correspondent reports an idea was raised that the Tent Party will later join Shmu'el Flatto-Sharon's list. It has been learned that the new party has already asked Flatto-Sharon for financial aid. [Text] [TA132121 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2100 GMT 13 May 81]

ARABS' OWN KNESSET LIST--The "Independent Arab List" [Hareshima Habaravit Ha'atzma'it] which is to run for the 10th Knesset is being organized in the bedouin village of Basmat Tab'un. It is headed by 'Ali Ibrahim (Zabidat), a 48-year old building contractor. Mr (Zabidat) told the MA'ARIV correspondent that this list will be composed of Arabs of different religious sects as a "counterlist" to that of the Druze. According to him, it has collected 6,000 signatures from the Arab villages. The second place on the list is filled by Mr Yusuf (A'lami), the owner of a bus company in the village of (Qara') (in the triangle). An Arab from one of the villages in Galilee will be in the third place. [Text] [TA181242 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 18 May 81 p 2]

HADASH KNESSET LIST--The leaders of HADASH (Hazit Democratit Leshalom) [Democratic Front for Peace] 'Uzi Bernstein, MK Charlie Beton and Muhammad Zaydan yesterday presented their list of candidates [for the 10th Knesset] and the new HADASH platform in a news conference in Tel Aviv. The first eight people on the HADASH list are: 1) Me'ir Wilner; 2) Tawfiq Tubi; 3) Charlie Beton; 4) Tawfiq Zayyad; 5) Muhammad Zaydan (of the Organization of Arab Local Council Heads); 6) Hasan Bishara; 7) David (Hinin); 8) Tamar (Gozhansky). [Text] [TA191144 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 19 May 81 p 2]

AGUDAT YISRA'EL KNESSET LIST--Mr Avraham Wardiger will head the Po'Aley Agudat Yisra'el list for the Knesset. Mr Rabbi Kalman Kahana will not run for reelection to the Knesset. Rabbi Kalman Kahana left Kibbutz Hafez Hayyim and moved to Jerusalem where he established a school for Jewish law and agriculture studies. The second slot on the Agudat list will be given to Sh. Z. Druck, Po'Aley Agudat Yisra'el's representative on the Jerusalem Municipal Council, and the third place will be given to a Sephardic Jew. The former Interior Ministry deputy director general, S. Rotem, has rejected a proposal to take the list's second slot. [Text] [TA211301 Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 21 Apr 81 p 2]

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